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Pact Meeting Scheduled for Beginning of July

AU2006173489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1718 GMT 20 Jun 89

["In Connection With the Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Participating States"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 20/6/1989—In keeping with the understanding convenanted, the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty participating states is to be held in Bucharest in the first decade of July, 1989.

TANJUG on Pact Meeting

LD2006224689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2120 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Text] Prague, June 20 (TANJUG)—The highest organ of the Warsaw Treaty, the Political Consultative Committee (PCC), will meet in early July in Bucharest, it was announced here on Tuesday evening.

The short statement said that the meeting would be held "in keeping with the already reached agreement," but did not say whether it will be a regular or special one, and what will be on the agenda.

According to earlier unofficial indications, the top party and state leaders of the member countries will focus on the international situation and, most probably, the experiences gained from the current socio-economic development of the socialist countries.

These experiences were recently criticized in bilateral talks between the leaders of Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic and Romania, who met in Prague.

Special interest has also recently developed for the development of the situation in Hungary.

The Prague criticism was further extended by the publication on Tuesday of excerpts of an address at a Czechoslovak party session last week by one of the highest and most influential Czechoslovak leaders, Vasil Bilak, who said that the situation in Poland and Hungary was "at the brink of dramatic events."

Bilak, claimed to be one of the most ardent supporters of the 1968 military intervention by the five Warsaw countries in Czechoslovakia, warned that "we cannot be indifferent towards the destiny of socialism."

Honecker Receives CEMA Party Representatives

AU0806104789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Jun 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Erich Honecker Received Representatives of Fraternal Parties From CEMA Countries"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ADN)—On Tuesday [6 June] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, received the economics secretaries of the Central Committees of the communist and workers parties of the CEMA member countries, who are staying in Berlin for a conference.

During the meeting the general secretary reported on the experiences and results in implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress, in particular in the field of economic and social policy. He paid tribute to the initiatives and performances of the GDR working people in all fields of social life to prepare the 40th anniversary of the GDR as an expression of the close links between party and people. Shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR is taking place as a uniform process of continuity and renewal. Erich Honecker explained to the guests the basic tasks for the further implementation of the SED's economic strategy in preparation of its 12th congress.

As an important precondition for strengthening the positions of socialism in every country and in the entire community, Erich Honecker stressed the further deepening of scientific-technological and economic cooperation of the CEMA member countries. The current conference of the economics secretaries on even more efficient cooperation in science and production will contribute to using the creative possibilities and advantages of socialism in an increasingly comprehensive way.

Erich Honecker stressed the varied and far-reaching disarmament initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states as an expression of the determination to continue the process of disarmament and detente without a break. The already initiated steps for the unilateral reduction of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states point the direction to a world without war and violence. The GDR accords extraordinary importance to separate negotiations on the step-by-step reduction and ultimate elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe in the near future. Erich Honecker emphasized the GDR's determination to contribute—within the Warsaw Pact alliance, in constructive cooperation with other states and with its own initiatives at the international level—to the disarmament process in the interest of peace. [passage omitted]

Romania's Sirbu Meets Honecker

AU0806201489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1919 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin AGERPRES, 8/06/1989—On behalf of the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, Erich Honecker, was conveyed a cordial message of friendship and the best wishes of health and further successes.

Thanking for the message, Erich Honecker requested that Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed a warm salute and the best wishes of health and full success in his activity.

The exchange of messages was occasioned by the call on Erich Honecker by Ion Sirbu, secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the Romanian Communist Party, and by the other participants in the meeting of secretaries for economic affairs of the Central Committees of communist and worker parties of the CMEA countries held in Berlin on 6 and 7 June 1989.

Further on Proceedings at Paris Conference

GDR Envoy's Address

AU2006112989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17-18 Jun 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Proposal on Minimum Standard of Human Rights in Europe"]

[Text] Paris (ADN)—At the plenary session on Friday [16 June], Ambassador Peter Steglich, head of the GDR delegation to the CSCE meeting on the human dimension, noted that the concept of unity, indivisibility, and mutual interrelationship of all human rights has been included in the final document of the Vienna meeting after 14 days of discussion. The obligation incurred in this document by the participating states "to continue their efforts to gradually achieve the complete implementation of the economic, social, and cultural rights with all appropriate means, in particular also through legislative measures" is of equal importance.

Despite this progress, one must not close one's eyes to the truth that the economic and social rights have been neglected by Western states also within the CSCE framework. The human dimension of the CSCE, however, practically obligates them to close these gaps.

The head of the GDR delegation explained the GDR's suggestion to take first steps to work out a "European minimum standard" in the field of social and economic rights within the framework of the CSCE. On the introduction of the proposal on the human dimension of scientific-technological progress, he pointed to the necessity to pay greater attention than to date to these problems within the framework of the CSCE. All human rights are basically touched upon by scientific-technological progress. It is the responsibility of every CSCE participating state to purposefully use the great opportunities provided by scientific-technological progress to better implement human rights. At the same time, this is an all-European task.

Legislative and other state measures have been taken in this respect in the GDR. They ensure advanced training in one's profession, and strengthen the influence of the trade union's opportunities to democratically participate in decisions concerning technological innovations.

In his speech, Ambassador Steglich categorically rejected the attempts of the FRG and other NATO states to interfere in the GDR's internal affairs. Obsolete legal positions and corresponding FRG practices, which call into question the GDR's personal sovereignty, are not conducive in any way to the further normalization of the relations between the GDR and the FRG, including the development of tourist traffic. It would be conducive to peace and cooperation to change these anachronistic positions. Specifically this would mean adjusting the legal positions to the realities and to the current international law, Ambassador Steglich said.

Bulgaria Submits Proposals

AU1906175089 Sofia BTA in English 1626 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Paris, June 19 (BTA correspondent)—At today's session of the conference on the human dimension of the C.S.C.E. process the Bulgarian delegation formulated several proposals. The first of them is related to the encouragement of parliamentary cooperation in the all-European process and, in particular, in its human dimension. The main points in the proposal are bilateral cooperation, establishing a parliamentary organizations and extension of cooperation within the interparliamentary alliance.

The Bulgarian delegation proposed that all participants should officially recognize the right of man to live in a healthful environment as an international juridical norm.

The Bulgarian side also proposed that guarantees should be given for a real universality of the international agreements in the field of human rights and that some states should withdraw their reserves with regard to separate texts in these agreements. The international agreements in question are those on the elimination of discrimination of women and the prohibition of any propaganda of war and racial or religious hatred. The Bulgarian delegation proposed that all reserves made in connection with the obligatory jurisdiction of the International Court should also be withdrawn.

The Bulgarian delegation recommended that the procedure of issuing entry visas should be facilitated and pointed out that the time limit for issuing a visa in urgent cases of human nature should be three working days, and in case of business or pleasure trips it should not exceed five working days from the date of the respective application.

CSSR Delegate Submits Proposals

LD2006185489 Prague CTK in English 1725 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Text] Paris June 20 (CTK correspondent)—The Czechoslovak delegation to the Paris conference on human dimension today submitted its proposals aimed at improving cooperation in the questions of human rights. They concern the setting up of bilateral humanitarian commissions, simplification of visa formalities, and granting of medical care to citizens staying temporarily in a foreign country.

Czechoslovak delegate Svatopluk delegate Svatopluk Buchlovsky pointed out that a bilateral humanitarian commission was set up by Czechoslovakia and the United States three years ago and has since then helped solve a number of humanitarian cases.

The second proposal envisages speeding up of formalities necessary for the granting of visas in such a way that they would be granted within 48 hours in humanitarian

cases and within two weeks in other cases at the latest. Also the practice of granting visas on border crossings should be gradually extended.

The third Czechoslovak proposal concerns multilateral or bilateral agreements on granting free medical care and ensuring effective consular and legal assistance to citizens of the countries participating in the Helsinki process.

Polish Delegate Speaks

LD2006214689 Warsaw PAP in English
1958 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Text] Vienna, June 20—A special working group, set up ad hoc by the conference of 35 states-participants in the negotiations on confidence and security building measures, started work on Monday. The group's task is to work out substantial and organizational frames of a CSCE seminar on military doctrines.

At the first session of the group Poland's representative Petr Switalski presented a draft concept of the seminar. He stated that Poland and other Warsaw Treaty states were of the opinion that the seminar should become a forum for the exchange of views on military doctrines, strategies and concepts as ones closely related to military potentials.

The participants in the seminar should be provided with an opportunity to discuss political-military and military-technical aspects of doctrines and their impact on manpower, structure, armaments and deployment of armed forces, their combat readiness and preparedness, military activity and spending.

The seminar would attempt to assess the evolution of doctrines and criteria by which to judge whether they are purely defensive.

Romanian Delegate Addresses ILO Conference

AU2106191089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1737 GMT 21 Jun 89

["Romanian Address to the Session of the International Labour Conference"—AGERPRES]

[Text] Geneva, AGERPRES, 21/06/1989—Taking the floor during the 76th session of the International Labour Conference under way in Geneva, the Romanian chief delegate underscored that ILO [International Labor Organization] was marking its 70th foundation anniversary at a time when the social situation disquiets mankind as a whole. As the report of the ILO director-general shows, he said, the outgoing decade has been marked by serious failures in the effort toward ensuring the utilization of work force, and toward social progress. In many industrialized countries unemployment has attained the highest level ever since the Second World War. The destabilizing world economy affects especially the developing countries which are deprived of the capitals indispensible for development owing to foreign debt servicing.

The speaker referred to Romania's achievements in housing construction, education, and health care, to its steady concern to create new jobs, use the active population and plenarily integrate the youth into work. The revolutionary worker democracy bodies set up in Romania and the improvement of their activity provide for all working people's participation in making and applying decisions, for the promotion of the working people's economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights, the Romanian chief delegate pointed out.

In conclusion the speaker expressed the hope that the International Labour Organization would remain faithful to its vocation of cooperation for the promotion of peace and social justice based on equality and respect for the diversity of institutions, of sociopolitical systems and the particularities deriving from each country's development level and traditions.

Balkan Anti-Terrorism Meeting Ends in Belgrade

AU1006154189 Tirana ATA in English
0830 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana, June 10 (ATA)—The experts meeting on cooperation among the Balkan countries in combat against terrorism, drug, and arms trafficking wound up its proceedings in Belgrade on June 8. The meeting adopted a verbal-process, foreseeing among others the continuation of the cooperation regarding these fields.

GDR Foreign Minister Fischer Continues Visit

Ramiz Alia Receives Fischer

AU2106192789 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, this morning received Oskar Fischer, minister of foreign affairs of the German Democratic Republic, at the Palace of Brigades. The reception was also attended by Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs.

A warm and friendly discussion took place on this occasion. Your visit to Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia told Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, is an important development which will undoubtedly help to further strengthen the relations between Albania and the German Democratic Republic. Our two peoples and countries are friends and it is our duty to further promote this friendship. Your visit, too, is a testimony of this. Everything that benefits the peoples and peace is good, and we support and greet it.

Comrade Ramiz Alia went on to speak about the efforts of the Albanian people in building socialism through their own forces, the results attained in this, and future prospects. He also mentioned Albania's domestic and foreign policy, which is intended to preserve and strengthen the people's regime, freedom, and the country's independence. Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out that our country has always been in favor of friendship and cooperation between the peoples and states, and in favor of mutually beneficial relations benefiting peace and security. The interests of the people, their freedom, and their well-being stand above all else. He expressed the desire that the relations between Albania and the German Democratic Republic be strengthened even more to benefit our two peoples and countries. He stressed the possibilities that exist to further extend cooperation to cover wider fields.

Comrade Ramiz Alia also talked to the East German minister about the policy of good-neighborliness pursued by Albania, and its past and present efforts to create an atmosphere of trust and understanding in the Balkans, as well as about other political efforts related to the consolidation of peace in Europe.

Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer conveyed to Ramiz Alia greetings from Erich Honecker, chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, and his best wishes to the Albanian people.

It is our very great desire, he stated, to strengthen and further promote relations with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and, as a result of the meetings and contacts that we have had in your country, I am convinced that these relations will progress even more.

Comrade Ramiz Alia asked Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer to convey his greetings to Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR Council of State, and expressed his best wishes for the prosperity of the people of the German Democratic Republic.

The meeting was also attended by Ilir Bocka, Albanian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Berlin, and Dietrich Kulitzka, GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Tirana.

ADN Reports Fischer Talks

LD2106184789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1622 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana (ADN)—The climax of the official friendship visit by the GDR foreign minister to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania was Oskar Fischer's reception by Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Albanian Workers' Party Central Committee and chairman of the People's Assembly Presidium of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, in Tirana today.

Fischer conveyed to Ramiz Alia cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, general of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, which the Albanian party and state leader sincerely reciprocated. He joined this with best wishes for the further successful progress of socialism in the GDR.

During the meeting which lasted more than 1 hour in the Palace of the Brigades, a prestigious state building on the outskirts of the city, Ramiz Alia stressed that Albania sees the existence of the GDR as an important factor for peace and socialism in the world. It has, therefore, always been found alongside the GDR when it was a matter of safeguarding their interests, and it will continue to stand there.

The foreign minister's visit is of great importance for the development of friendly relations between the two states and peoples, and it introduced a new stage of interstate cooperation, Ramiz Alia said. Under their respective specific conditions, Albania and the GDR are building socialism and are following the paths which correspond to these conditions. The goal is identical, however, to establish a socialist society that serves man and his wellbeing. The views on important fundamental questions of our time are also identical.

Oskar Fischer expressed thanks for the high evaluation which Albania gave of the GDR's peace-serving role in the life of the peoples. He reaffirmed that the socialist German state is always a predictable and reliable partner in the struggle for peace and disarmament and in establishing socialist society. The GDR views with respect the achievements registered by the Albanian people under difficult conditions. It is in the interests of both peoples

to intensify the political, economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation and to make it serve an even more rapid development of the national economies of the two countries.

The foreign minister said that the talks on this held in Tirana and the agreements signed make him optimistic. He is convinced that the economic and trade exchange, which has clearly increased since 1986, will grow further.

Reis Malile, Albanian foreign minister, also took part in the talk, which was characterized by a friendly and open atmosphere. Also present were Dieter Kulitzka, the GDR ambassador to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and Ilir Bocka, the Albanian ambassador to the GDR.

On his departure from the Albanian capital, Oskar Fischer told journalists this afternoon that this first official friendship visit to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania by a GDR foreign minister was a success. In all talks there was agreement that a good basis exists for a broad and dynamic development of interstate cooperation. The desire for mutually-advantageous collaboration is present on both sides. Both sides are determined to start a new stage of cooperation. The minister stressed that in the talks with his counterpart, there was agreement on all international issues discussed, especially those concerning the need to safeguard peace.

Reis Malile spoke to the journalists from the GDR and Albania in the same spirit about the significance and the course of the 3-day visit. He expressed high regard for the GDR, for its policy which serves peace in Europe and for the cooperation between the two states, mentioning in particular the agreed expansion of economic relations in many sectors of the national economies.

The program for the final day of the visit took Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and his entourage to the picturesque town of Kruje in the mountains to the northwest of Tirana, which, in memory of the activities there of the national hero Skanderbeg, has had the title of Hero town since 1968. In the 'Gjergj Kastrioti-Skenderbeu' museum, opened in 1982 on the site of the mountain fortress of Kruje, the guest learned about the life and struggle of this legendary 15th century figure against Ottoman conquest and oppression.

Fischer Ends Visit, Makes Statement

AU2106201589 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] This morning, Oskar Fischer, minister of foreign affairs of the German Democratic Republic, visited the Gjergj Kastrioti Skenderbeg Museum in Kruje, where he was welcomed by Petraq Kalemi, chairman of the district people's council executive committee. He wrote the following in the visitors book: The museum named after Gjergj Kastrioti Skenderbeg clearly and expressively reflects the epic struggles and sacrifices of the Albanian people against foreign invaders. I wish the Albanian people new successes in the country's socialist construction.

Oskar Fischer today concludes his official and friendly visit to Albania at the invitation of Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs.

He was bid farewell at Rinas Airport by Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs. Ilir Bocka, extraordinary and plenipotentiary Albanian ambassador in Berlin, and Dietrich Kulitzka, extraordinary and plenipotentiary GDR ambassador in Tirana, were also present.

Prior to his departure, Oskar Fischer made the following statement to the editor of Albanian Television:

I have the most favorable impression from my visit to Albania. More time would certainly have been needed to see all the achievements of your people. However, from what I was able to see, I have been able to form a stable and strong impression about the construction of socialism in your country.

As far as the talks that I have conducted are concerned, I would like to stress particularly my meeting and discussion with Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, which took place in a very friendly atmosphere. This meeting showed clearly once more that, as far as the relations between the German Democratic Republic and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania are concerned, possibilities have been created for broader cooperation. The talks showed not only that no obstacles exist with regard to these relations but, on the contrary, all factors speak in favor of their development. As you know, two important agreements were signed. I would like to stress primarily the agreement pertaining to technology, science, and the economy, adding that possibilities exist precisely in these fields for both sides to cooperate to the benefit of both states. I would like to stress our readiness to further develop relations in all fields.

I am returning to the German Democratic Republic with most favorable impressions and best results.

In conclusion, Oskar Fischer stated that his colleague, Reis Malile, has been invited to make an official visit to the German Democratic Republic at a time suitable to him.

5th Session of People's Assembly Begins

Alia, Other Leaders Attend

AU2106125289 Tirana ATA in English 0903 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana, June 20 (ATA)—On June 20, afternoon, the 5th session of the 11th legislature of the People's Assembly began its proceedings.

The deputies and the invitees received with enthusiasm the entrance into the hall of the first secretary of the Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia, and of the other party and state leaders, Comrades Adil Carcani, member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers; the members of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani; the alternate members of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, Kico Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Qirjako Mihali, and Vangjel Cerrava.

The session was declared open by the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Petro Dode.

Then the floor was taken by the minister of health, Ahmet Kamberi, who on behalf of the Council of Ministers delivered the report on the results achieved in protecting the health of the people and the further measures to uplift to a higher level the prophylaxis and health service.

On behalf of the Health and Public Service Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly, the report was delivered by the chairman of this commission, the deputy Ylli Popa.

The proceedings of the first sitting wound up. The second sitting will begin on June 21 before noon.

Kamberi Briefs Assembly

AU2106130389 Tirana ATA in English 0928 GMT 21 Jun 89

["The Protection of the People's Health Constitutes the Foundation of the Party's Social Policy—From the Report Delivered by the Minister of Health, Ahmet Kamberi on Behalf of the Council of Ministers at the 5th Session of the People's Assembly"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, June 21 (ATA)—The party and the people's power, the health minister, Ahmet Kamberi, stressed, have always devoted a special attention to the problems of protection and strengthening of the people's health. The social and economic policy of the party has aimed at creating ever better material conditions for the working people, for the man to enjoy good health, be able to work and produce to the benefit of the society, family and himself, and be always able to defend the homeland and the achieved victories. It is for this reason that a prophylactic orientation was given to our medicine since the beginning.

With the implementation of the party's instructions that the health service be ever more closer to the people, a broad network of health institutions is set up. Some 9700 such institutions are found today, 85 percent of which are in the countryside. The party and the state power have constantly devoted special care to the health of mother and child. An expression of this care is the prolongation of the pregnancy leave, as well as the adoption of a series of other measures to strengthen the prophylactic health service and expand the hospital one. Today, about 90 percent of the maternity homes and 95 percent of the mother and child consultation centers are to be found in the countryside.

Alongside the setting up and expansion of this network of health institutions, a special attention is devoted also to the training and specialization of the medical cadre. The Faculty of Medicine and the schools for training the middle medical staff have helped in meeting the demands for the whole system of health. Today we have over 8 times more doctors, pharmacists, and dentists than in 1962. Each agricultural cooperative has its own health center with doctors and middle medical staff and each village has its own midwife-nurse.

The expansion of the health service and the measures adopted to raise the technical and scientific level of the medical staff and the quality of this service have contributed to the sensitive change and improvement of the health indices. The natural growth of the population is today 20 per 1000 inhabitants, among the highest in Europe. The average life-span has amounted to 72 years old as against 68 in 1971. The birth rate is 25.3 per 1000 inhabitants. The young age prevails in the structure of the population's ages.

Further on, he said that it is not only the individual and the family, nor only the doctors and health staff, that are interested in health, but the whole socialist society. Hence, the protection of health in Albania is a great social and state problem.

In implementation of the tasks set by the party, a broad network of institutions of propaganda and health education, which surrounds our man everywhere he works and lives, is set up and operates. The impetuous development of the multi-branched industry, urbanization and intensification of agriculture, the minister, Ahmet Kamberi, stressed, are associated also with the problems of the environment's pollution. In order to avoid these objective effects of this intensive development, laws and decisions are enforced by the party and state. A series of measures of technical, organizational and study character have been adopted and important investments have been made.

Of great importance for the protection of the health of the working people is the prevention and avoidance of the pollution of the working environment. Beginning with 1971, some contemporary methods in drillings are applied in some mines of the country. This experience will be generalized in the chrome and coal mines whereas in these of iron it will be applied within this year.

In continuation of the deepening of the measures for the creation of good working conditions, the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party and the Council of Ministers have defined through special decisions the technical-organizational measures to fulfill the working and living conditions of the workers.

The scientific and mass organization of the struggle against contagious diseases holds an important place in the complex of prophylactic measures protecting the people's health.

The setting up of new laboratory services, the implementation of new schemes and methods of tracing down the diseases and the prophylactic treatment, the improvement of the vaccine quality and the re-examination of the vaccination schemes have influenced the reduction of diseases and putting under control of the diseases which can be prevented through vaccines. During the last three years, there has been no case of poliomyelitis, whereas tetanus cases are very rare. The Hygiene and Epidemiology Research Institute produces today dozens of prophylactic vaccines and serums, and over 200 antigens.

One of the important aspects, he stressed further on, is the protection and strengthening of the health of mother and child. In the light of the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha in this direction, important measures have been adopted for the emancipation of the woman and the protection of her health, particularly during pregnancy and birth, as well as the protection of the children's lives. A whole organizational structure has been set up comprising maternity homes, obstetric-gynecologic, pediatric clinics and hospitals, mother and child consultation centers, out-patient clinics and creches, up to the Pediatric Study Institute which is equipped with the necessary personnel and contemporary apparatus.

The government is studying possibilities to create other facilitating conditions for mother and child, apart from those foreseen by the existing legislation.

Alongside the increase of the number of medical staff, its technical-scientific professional ability has increased as well. In the scientific sessions and symposiums, hundreds of physicians have been active, not only in the capital, but also in all the districts. The crowning of this vast movement was also the National Conference of Albanian Medicine, which was held in 1986.

Work is going on for the preparation of the coming conference in 1991. Dignified works have been presented in scientific international activities by our specialists participating in them. In September this year, the international course on heart diseases will be conducted in Tirana, which would be attended, besides many specialists from the Balkan countries, also by outstanding specialists from Europe.

The current development of the medical service and the measures foreseen to be adopted, the health minister, Ahmet Kamberi, said in conclusion, guarantee the continuous increase of its level and quality as well as the protection and strengthening of the people's health.

Mladenov Makes Public Statement on Muslim Issue
AU2106152689 Sofia BTA in English
1452 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 21 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, made the following statement before the BTA diplomatic correspondent:

The Bulgarian Government and the Bulgarian public are increasingly concerned about the fate of our fellow-countrymen who, availing themselves of the new foreign passports legislation, due to different personal considerations, go to Turkey. Bulgaria's position of principle on this question has been already stated by Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, and by Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

But of late it becomes more and more clear that the Turkish side is taking advantage of the fate of these people for the attainment of suspicious political and propaganda ends. We are particularly worried by what is being done to our citizens on Turkish territory and by the plans of their being settled in different regions of Turkey and outside that country.

Some sources have it that they will be settled in the northern part of Cyprus, which is still illegally occupied by Turkey. Obviously these Bulgarian citizens will be sent to the place from which a few years ago the Greek Cypriots were driven away. If this is true, then it not only will not help to settle such a serious problem as that of Cyprus, but will be a challenge to the international public.

According to some other sources there are plans to send our fellow-countrymen to the land of the Kurdish people. It is all but clear that this plan is aimed at populating those regions in which, as everybody knows, a war is being waged and which are being depopulated as a result of the systematic, forcible assimilation policy the Turkish authorities follow with regard to the Kurds.

Similar plans of the Turkish administration cannot but cause great concern. Their implementation would be an open provocation to the world public because these lands actually belong to other peoples—the Cypriots and the Kurds.

Lately some mass media and some official circles in the West have been using words like "driving away", "deporting" etc., when they comment on the travels made by Bulgarian citizens.

On May 29 this year Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, categorically stated: "Our country is the fatherland of all who were born in this land". The Bulgarian Muslims were born here, they have always lived and will live here. Separate people want to go to Turkey and they have the right to do it both now and in the future. We are not sending these people away, on the contrary—we honestly tell them what is in store for them and what their fate will be if they decide to stay there. Most of the Bulgarian Muslims understand and fully support our position.

Bulgaria is not "deporting" anybody and the interested circles are well aware of that fact, an they also know that in fact Bulgarian citizens are realizing their lawful right to leave their country freely, as well as to return freely back in it. That right is regulated by the respective international acts, the Vienna conclusive document included.

It is well-known that at the time when the Vienna document was being drafted some states-participants were almost making a cult of the importance of the right to free travel of people. It is strange that now, when as a result of the innovative processes in this country, and in the name of the broadening of the all-European cooperation, Bulgaria's legislation in this sphere was not only changed but also practical measures for its realization were undertaken, once again ways for discrediting Bulgaria on the international arena are searched, and this time because she is strictly applying the Vienna and Helsinki accords. That is really a strange logic.

Bulgaria sincerely wishes the accelerated construction of the common European home, she champions the ideas for a unified Europe in which all the 35 CSCE member states will strictly adhere to the obligations adopted voluntarily by them. The Bulgarian people has always respected the national aspirations of other peoples, has attentively listened to their voice, as well as their good-willed wishes. It has a lasting historical memory. Besides, throughout its difficult past the Bulgarian people has learnt to judge friendship, as well as the friendly lended hand, on their merits.

Party Daily Examines Relations With Turkey
AU2106100889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Jun 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Order of Time: Good-Neighborly, Humane, Civilized Relations"]

[Text] The realities of our time, which must be taken into consideration by all politicians, public figures, and leading circles, emphatically insist: Human civilization has reached such a level that it is insane to follow any other road except the road of cooperation, humanism, and good-neighborly and civilized relations. Any imperial ambitions or deliberate exacerbation of the situation in any part of Europe or the planet, have a negative impact on the atmosphere in the region, on the continent, and the world. Our world is mutually interdependent. Our problems are so closely interwoven and the roads toward our cherished goal—the nuclear-free world—are so complex, that now more than ever before we need prudence, restraint, obligatory respect for the legal interests of the partner, and readiness to solve the most difficult problems through constructive negotiations alone. Now it is

inadmissible to interfere in the internal affairs of other states or to strive to obtain a propaganda advantage by kindling hostility, or attempting to deceive world public opinion.

Those well-known thoughts were prompted by certain factors that we observe in the activity of specific leading circles in neighboring Turkey. It suffices to follow the Turkish press articles and radio broadcasts to sense how human dramas and destinies are exploited for impure political goals, how shameful scenes of hypocritical and false concern for the Bulgarian Muslims are staged, and how constant attempts to manipulate world public opinion are made. Pointing this out in his statement to a BTA correspondent, Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, stated: "We know why some high-ranking Turkish officials are making belligerent statements, fanning up psychosis and hatred for the Bulgarian people, making absurd claims and calling upon the world public to support in what they are doing. Any unbiased man can clearly see the pan-Turkish imperial ambitions hidden behind this aggressive conduct."

The Bulgarian people unanimously reject such actions.

Some 3 weeks ago Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, unequivocally pointed out: "....as every law-governed state we shall not allow any activity aimed against the calm and security of the Bulgarian citizens, at abusing their religious feelings, and violating the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and our laws. Our people have the self-confidence and power to oppose any such manifestation."

Thus our first party and state leader spoke words of exceptional importance for every Bulgarian citizen. At thousands of meetings, rallies, and gatherings millions of working people firmly subscribed to these words and supported the correct course of our state, the course of revolutionary restructuring, further democratization, specific constructive deeds, and peaceful and good-neighborly relations with all states in the Balkan Peninsula. The statement of the chairman of the Council of Ministers was a new confirmation of this steady course. It was a warning and an appeal: A warning to stop the unworthy anti-Bulgarian campaign, and an appeal to give priority to reason and good-neighborly relations. This is so because, as is well-known, it is easy to lose confidence, while it is difficult to create a fresh and fruitful climate.

There is no benefit in straining our relations, while we all could benefit from the establishment of a friendly atmosphere.

Every citizen of out motherland knows: The present day and the future of the Republic of Turkey and the People's Republic of Bulgaria depend on their normal good-neighborly relations in the Balkans and on understanding and cooperation with all states throughout the world. Also today the People's Republic of Bulgaria is ready to conduct meetings and talks on all really existing bilateral problems on the basis of mutual esteem and respect for the countries' interests, sovereign equality, noninterference in internal affairs, and other universally recognized principles and norms of international law, that regulate peaceful relations between independent states. Our country adheres to constructive and productive dialogue, without preliminary conditions.

This is the word and willingness of the Bulgarian people.
We want to live and work in a calm atmosphere.
We want to cooperate with all our neighbors.
We are interested in seeing good-neighborly, humane, and civilized relations prevail.

Bulgarian Bishop Accuses Turkey of 'Blasphemy'

AU2206104189 Sofia BTA in English
0950 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 22 (BTA)—Bishop Pankras of Stara Zagora has sent a cable to Dr Emilio Castro, secretary general of the World Council of Churches. The cable advises him that the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church has been informed that the building in Istanbul where the Bulgarian Exarchate was housed in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century was attacked with stones late at night on June 16 and was damaged. The St Ivan of Rila Church is in the same building.

It is underlined that the Holy Synod considers this act as a blasphemy against the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and her saints and emplores the secretary general of the World Council of Churches to intercede with the respective Turkish authorities for taking measures to prevent such actions.

Article Discusses Turkey's 'Outrageous' Position

AU2206100389 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian
No 25 19 Jun 89 pp 1, 8, 9

[Iliya Yanakiev article: "Has a Time of Division Come Again?"]

[Excerpts] The restructuring process has involved our entire social organism. This process does not only determine the fate of socialism; it affects individual human destinies. It is no coincidence, that problems which existed in the past, but were suppressed, distorted, or muted, are now emerging on the surface and claim their specific and urgent solution.

National unification was and still remains an unresolved problem, because of our people's unhappy and tragic fate, but also because of our own delusions and mistakes.

The Turkish yoke which lasted over 500 years, separated our people from the all-European family and forcibly subjected them to an anti-humanitarian system which

was alien to our traditions, and which, for a long period of time, deprived our people of the opportunity to participate in the European economic and cultural upsurge. [passage omitted]

It was a truly heroic exploit of the Bulgarian people to have survived under such inhuman living conditions and preserved their own identity as a nation. This was by no means the result of a certain tolerance on the part of the despotic Turkish regime. The imperial system, which was marked by centuries-old backwardness, had the power to swallow up nations that were by far more civilized than Turkey. This is the reason why we are referring to that epoch which taught us some instructive lessons and which serves as a warning for us, keeping us in vigilant suspense, but also inspiring us with reverence for the heroism and greatness of our people's indomitable spirit.

The present-day Republic of Turkey is not responsible for the despotism of the Ottoman Empire, and even less should the Turkish population, with which our people are sincerely willing to live in peace and understanding, be blamed for it. Nevertheless, if some circles, or individuals in Turkey declare themselves the heirs and followers of the Ottoman Empire, this means that they also identify themselves with its ambitions and crimes. This fact justifies our suspicion. [passage omitted]

Unfortunately, certain theses of the official Turkish propaganda, especially those inspired by dangerous political motivations, evoke the response of individual Western circles. Some people in the West are acting in this way, because they are inspired by sincere, humanitarian convictions. Others, however, are not moved by sympathy. Their concept of "human rights" is rather related to political expediency and state interests. Some of them, until recently, denounced us for allegedly preventing Bulgarian Muslims from emigrating to Turkey, while today they reprimand us for allegedly expelling them from Bulgaria. [passage omitted]

Was there anyone abroad who protested, or at least expressed sympathy, when part of the Bulgarian people, who remained outside our state borders, was forcibly expelled from the native territories, or subjected to the merciless eradication of its national consciousness?

All states have their domestic problems, including minorities and religious differences. We can only hope that they may find the strength to solve their own difficulties, while we are contributing to the solution of universal, human issues. How much is one's concern about other people worth, as long as he has not settled all his problems at home?

Several-million Germans living in other European countries were deported after World War II. This was done in order to guarantee the internal stability of those states, and simultaneously to eliminate one of the causes for the disruption of European peace.

Certain Yugoslav media devote great attention to Bulgaria in connection with our new passport regulations. At the same time, however, the actions of the authorities in Kosovo do not coincide with the approach toward Bulgaria expressed in these media. [passage omitted]

As we have seen, different situations exist in different countries. Each of them applies its own policy to consolidate the national unity and stability of the state. It is, however, no less than outrageous that Turkey should assume the pose of a champion of human rights and minorities. The West European organizations are constantly dealing with the violations of the Kurdish people in Turkey against whom a truly exterminating war has been waged in recent years.

No one abroad will help us to resolve our own problems. They are in our own hands. Their solution depends on our strong will, on our wisdom, on our ability to understand each other, to assist each other, and to draw closer together as the offsprings of one land and of one nation. No well-intentioned person could accuse our people's government of not devoting all its efforts to ensure equal rights for all our citizens, regardless of their religion and national consciousness, to rescue the Muslim population from poverty, backwardness, and conservatism. Conditions of comprehensive development were created for them. Whoever has visited the areas inhabited by this population cannot help being greatly impressed by the tremendous upsurge of these regions under all aspects.

We even allowed exaggerations which, regardless of the good intentions which motivated them, did not produce the desired unity and cohesion. I do not know, whether any other country in the world, has introduced lectures on the history of a foreign country as a special subject in its regular university curriculum, in order to train teachers in charge of instructing school children on the history of this particular foreign state. The subject "History of Turkey" was taught at Sofia University during the fifties. Contrary to our expectations, such activities promoted the split, instead of strengthening the feeling of belonging to the People's Republic of Bulgaria and to the Bulgarian nation. Can we reconcile ourselves to the fact that part of our people are subject to manipulation from abroad, that the process of their total integration is being disrupted, and their feeling of belonging to socialist Bulgaria is being undermined? We are well aware of the fact that national consciousness developed through various methods; "the tribal roots" do not determine the behavior of the majority of people.

We must understand the tragedy experienced by some of our compatriots who are torn between their national consciousness and their religious affiliation. The policy of national unity is sincere and serves the common interests. It is the only method of guaranteeing the internal stability of our state and truly equal rights, it provides the young generation with opportunities for a

comprehensive and accomplished educational development. Naturally, the implementation of this policy is a long-term process, it cannot be successfully accomplished within 5-10 years.

The democratization of socialist society, part of which are the new passport regulations, provides every citizen with the opportunity of freely travelling and choosing the place of his residence. This by no means affects the policy of national unification. The care for the stability of our state, for the people's unity, for the prosperity of our society, and for the consolidation of peace is our greatest priority. We cannot remain indifferent to the tragedy which some of our compatriots are living through. Has a "time of division" come again? Bulgaria is our common native land. National unity is in our common interest, it is also to our common advantage to overcome differences stemming from religious affiliations. Numerous Bulgarian citizens will take advantage of the new opportunities to visit Turkey, to get acquainted with life in that country, to meet their relatives and friends. Some of them will return to their homeland. Others may prefer to remain in Turkey. Let us not engage in forecasts about what is awaiting them there. Everyone is free to decide his own future. To those of our compatriots, who cannot permanently adapt to Bulgaria, we can only wish that they may find their peace of mind and build up a happy life for themselves in Turkey. We, however, are firmly resolved to remain in our own homeland, where we have lived for over 13 centuries, on this land drenched with the sweat and blood of many generations of Bulgarians who devoted their lives to the ever-lasting future of the centuries-old Bulgarian state.

No, this is not a "time of division", it is a time of unity and cohesion in our common interest. This is the main prerequisite for the achievement of the great goals which we are striving for as a nation and as a state.

Jordanian Paper Comments on Ethnic Turks' Exodus

JN2206081889 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 22-23 Jun 89 p 1

[By Najwa al-Najjar]

[Text] Amman—Jordan Wednesday expressed regret over the situation of ethnic Turks in Bulgaria and voiced hope that the Bulgarian and Turkish governments would quickly resolve their differences over the issue.

Referring to the recent exodus of thousands of ethnic Turks from Bulgaria, Deputy Foreign Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Marwan al-Qasim said Jordan supports resolutions taken by the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC) which call on the Bulgarian government to "allow the Muslim Turkish minority living (in Bulgaria) to practice its basic rights and to express its identity, religion, ethnicity and culture, free from any discrimination."

The core of the dispute, which dates back to 1984, lies in what Turkey says is mistreatment and "forced assimilation" by Bulgaria of the ethnic Muslim Turkish minority, Bulgaria refutes the charges.

Turkish Ambassador to Jordan Semih Belen told the JORDAN TIMES Wednesday that the Turks "were deported without warning and were unable to take their possessions, (and were forced to leave) behind their life savings and property." But, the Bulgarian Embassy here said the people who left Bulgaria in recent weeks across the border to Turkey did so at their own free will and were free to return whenever they chose.

Agency reports give conflicting figures on the number of ethnic Turks who have left Bulgaria since May 6. While some say that 50,000 have moved to Turkey, others claim that the number is closer to 100,000.

Belen supports the former figure, and predicts it will rise. "Figures yesterday (Tuesday) indicated that 53,000 ethnic Turks have been deported," he said in a telephone interview with the JORDAN TIMES.

The ambassador repeated Turkish charges that since 1984 Bulgarian officials have been "forcing an assimilation programme for the 1.5 million ethnic Turks living in Bulgaria; by trying to change their Muslim names to Christian, hindering their right to practise their religion, prohibiting the use of their language, closing mosques and now deporting them."

The Turkish Government, he says, tried to remedy this situation by proposing an immigration agreement to regulate the immigration of ethnic Turks, "but, this was refused by the Bulgarian Government."

The Bulgarian Embassy here released a statement to the JORDAN TIMES saying that the ongoing exodus was due to a liberalisation of travel regulations. The embassy referred to a statement issued June 17 by Bulgarian Prime Minister Georgi Atanasov that recent amendments to the country's legislation had opened the doors wider for Bulgarians to leave the country "whenever he wishes; to stay temporary or permanently abroad and to return to the People's Repoublic of Bulgaria."

He says that some "concerned circles in Turkey try to present this natural right to travel as some sort of dismissing of Bulgarian citizens from Bulgaria and their deportation in Turkey."

The dispute has reportedly snowballed into a state of tension between Turkey, a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), and Bulgaria, a Warsaw Pact member, with headlines in Turkish newspapers saying "Army on Alert," and "Leave Cancelled," But most analysts dismiss the possibility of a war between them.

Bulgarian Foreign Minister Petur Toshev Mladenov refuted Turkish charges that ethnic Turks were given 12 hours to collect their belongings and leave the country and that they were not allowed to draw their savings.

Mladenov describes the border crossing between Bulgaria and Turkey as of "well-dressed people and cars loaded with luggage, calmly and politely attended by the Bulgarian border and custom officers."

Reports from the Turkish side of the border speak of people arriving with scant belongings and settling down in makeshift camps erected by the Turksih Government.

Clarification of New Entry Visa Regulations

AU2106164689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Jun 89 p 6

["Extract From DURZHAVEN VESTNIK"]

[Text] DURZHAVEN VESTNIK No 47 carries the following:

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Internal Affairs have issued a Code on Applying the Law on Visiting and Transiting of Foreigners in the People's Republic of Bulgaria:

Entry and transit visas are issued by the diplomatic and consular missions of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, or by the border checkpoints, in the following cases and within the following periods of time:

1. Regular entry visas are issued by the diplomatic and consular missions of the People's Republic of Bulgaria within 7 work days of the date of request;
2. Express entry visas are issued by the diplomatic and consular missions of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on the day of request.
3. Urgent entry visas are issued by the border checkpoint on the day of request;
4. Transit visas are issued by the diplomatic and consular missions of the People's Republic of Bulgaria within 24 hours of the request;
5. Urgent transit visas are issued by the border checkpoint on the day of request; Persons without citizenship may obtain entrance or transit visas only at the diplomatic and consular missions of the People's Republic of Bulgaria if they have permission to return to the country in which they reside permanently.

Economic Talks With Serbia Open in Sofia 21 Jun

AU2106193089 Sofia BTA in English 1815 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 21 (BTA)—The possibilities for the extension and improvement of economic cooperation between Bulgaria and the Federative Republic of Serbia [name as received] are being discussed at the talks which started here today. It was pointed out that the political relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia have been and will continue to be an important factor for the stabilization of cooperation in the Balkans, for the acclimatization of economic relations in this part of the world.

A project for an intergovernmental agreement between Bulgaria and Serbia was discussed in which the main guidelines for a long-term economic and scientific-technical cooperation will be outlined and the stress will be laid on several projects which are greatly important for the infrastructure of the economies of the two countries. Especially important is the project for the establishment of joint free trade zones. Priority is given also to the extension of a transit gasline to Serbia. Problems of financial and economic integration in agriculture and the food processing industry were also debated with the purpose of increasing the production and raising the efficiency of in-depth processing of raw materials. Good results are expected from cooperation in the automobile building industry, the electronic industry, from the interaction in the joint production of wagons, cisterns, engines, the equipment of the chemical and the food industries.

The contacts between universities and institutes of Bulgaria and Serbia are expected to be activated.

Atanasov Receives Mulosevic

AU2206081989 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] On 22 June Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Milutin Milosevic, vice president of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. The meeting was attended by Comrade Petko Danchev, chairman of the Bulgarian part of the Bulgarian-SFRY Intergovernmental Committee on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, and by the two countries' ambassadors, Belcho Belchev and Milenko Stefanovic.

Premier Adamec Speech at Brno Peace Rally
AU2106135089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Jun 89 Jun 89 pp 1,2

["Speech by Comrade Ladislav Adamec," member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CSSR premier, at the annual "festival of peace and Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship" in Brno-Lisen on 18 June]

[Text] Allow me to greet your rally in the name of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, its general secretary, Comrade Milos Jakes, the National Front Central Committee, and the Federal Government. The mass attendance at this manifestation confirms the importance and viability of the tradition of peace rallies in Brno-Lisen [held to commemorate a speech made there in June 1938 by the then party chairman Klement Gottwald, c'lling for alliance with the Soviet Union in the struggle against fascism].

For more than half a century, this valley has been associated with struggles for the most fundamental human right, the right to a life in peace. It was witness to the most profound feelings of man—his longings, fears, and hopes. What does a look back show, about what does it persuade us? It warns against a carefree attitude. It provides encouragement because of the progress achieved. It appeals to us not to become arrested in our development, to take new realities into consideration, to bring closer better prospects through active endeavor.

We live in a world that is changing at an unprecedented pace. The problems of international security—the need to avert the threat of wars and ecological catastrophes—are increasingly assuming global character. The dependence of all states on one another is growing literally day by day. However, the individual is not lost in the complexities of contemporary events. Quite to the contrary, international relations are acquiring an ever broader human dimension. All citizens of our country have their place in the peace efforts, everyone counts.

This year we will recall the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II. How is this historical date to be approached? Should we forget everything that happened then, in the name of tomorrow? Or should we ignore the changes of the past 50 years, the existence of two new generations, and continue to live from yesterday's ideas? Both would be wrong and would not be of any benefit to anyone. Our position is clear. We say 'yes' to everything that benefits the legal rights of the inhabitants of our homeland. We have no intention of reopening old wounds, of opening issues closed by history. We want to have good relations with all countries, in particular the neighboring ones. We avoid unnecessary misunderstandings through greater flow of information and, naturally, we expect others to do the same.

The policy of social restructuring fundamentally changes our attitude to the surrounding world. Opening ourselves to the world outside, and not closing ourselves to it, is in accord with the interests of our country and the needs of developing socialism. We are ready to cooperate with everyone for whom human life represents the highest value.

We fully support the Message to the Nations of the World, adopted by the Congress of People's Deputies [of the USSR], in which it is said: "In today's tempestuously developing world, it is impossible to live according to old principles and criteria. One cannot count on reinforcing one's own security and on securing success for oneself by disregarding the interests of others. It would be absurd to turn international relations into an arena of ideological wars. It would be a crime to exhaust the world economy with arms race and neglect care of environmental protection. No matter what dams may separate us, we are the children of one mother—the Earth—and we share the same fate."

The people of Socialist Czechoslovakia know well the value of peacetime and the price of wartime days and years. This is why our position on this peace appeal from Moscow is unequivocal. We are in favor of putting an end to hostility between nations. We uphold the view that equal security for all, ensured above all by political means, is necessary. We support the demilitarization, democratization, and humanization of international relations. We press for the reduction of the defense potentials of states to the level of reasonable sufficiency. We consider it inadmissible to use force, or the threat to use force, to achieve one's aims, whatever they may be. In relations with other countries, we acknowledge the principle of sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity. War must no longer be a vehicle of policy.

We realize that the path toward lasting peace among nations will not open up on its own, without the effort of every member of the world community. To use the words of the great son of this region, the poet Vitezslav Nezval, "peace is neither a booty nor a gift."

An expression of our responsibility for the fate of our shared civilization is the new political thinking, based on the understanding and recognition of all-human interests and values. Together with our allies and friends, we are trying to close in Europe the cold war period once and for all. We are not advocates of the division of Europe. We are in favor of a Europe of peace and of political, economic, technological, ecological, and humanitarian cooperation.

The project of a common European home is assuming ever clearer outlines. Our contribution to its construction is the initiative to set up a zone of peace, cooperation, and goodneighborly relations along the line of contact between Warsaw Pact and NATO states, put forward by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

We neighbor on six countries of different social systems, varying degrees of economic maturity, and diverse cultural traditions. In these differences lies the potential for mutual enrichment and knowledge, and not the reason for distrust and suspicion. We are a firm constituent part of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. We do not see the image of an enemy in anyone, but the image of an equal partner and potential friend.

The problems to which mankind must face up today are new. Their solution requires unconventional approaches. That is why, together with our allies, we have come up with unilateral measures in the sphere of armed forces. In harmony with the defensive nature of our military-political doctrine, we are limiting troop numbers.

The war danger on the European continent is not the only threat. The community of nations also shares responsibility for the protection of the environment. On our initiative, a meeting of ministers in charge of environmental protection from seven central European countries was held. The decisions adopted laid the groundwork for working out an effective mechanism of mutual cooperation in this field. They contribute to making central Europe an ecologically safer place, and to greater mutual trust. We are doing everything we can for this process to continue at the level of heads of government as well. The agreement on a joint course of action in this field represents something unique and extraordinary in history to date. We want to change this. We want regular consultative meetings by neighboring states on all issues of common interest and at all levels to become a normal occurrence between neighbors. The CSSR is always ready to act as the host country and to create conditions for constructive talks on any question of common interest.

Czechoslovakia wants to be an open society, not a closed one. We want our economy to become more broadly involved in the world economy on the basis of mutual advantage and equality. We want to actively participate in drafting, and complying with, principles of modern international division of labor and scientific-technical and trade exchanges. Only on this basis shall we be able to successfully carry out the restructuring of our national economy, and to guarantee living standards. Part and parcel of the basic structural changes under preparation is the conversion of parts of military production to peaceful purposes. We intend to establish production programs that would link us in a better way with the world, and we hold out the offer of cooperation to everyone who shows an interest in it.

We have started to build the infrastructure, so to speak, of the edifice which goes under the proud name of common European home. However, many things will still have to be done. The main problem is not just the choice of building materials. The most important thing is the atmosphere of relations among neighbors. It is not worthy of the traditions of the Czech and Slovak peoples to play in the European home the role of a poor lodger or to occupy a room in the attic, intended for those who do not pay rent. Being equal also presupposes the ability to meet the commitments one has undertaken. We are aware of this duty and we are preparing ourselves accordingly.

Esteemed fellow citizens, the CPCZ has laid down a program for the profound restructuring of our society. This is its response to the justified demands of citizens and to the needs of broader international cooperation. We are speeding up transition to the new economic mechanism. We are gathering experience from the path of the further democratization of society on which we have set out. The road of preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress has been specified by this week's 14th session of the CPCZ Central Committee and it also constitutes the content of the Proclamation of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the 41st anniversary of Victorious February.

We are filling socialism with contents that are worthy of the ideals of the working man. We all know that the principles of restructuring are taking hold in tenacious struggles. We do not have a recipe for an easy road ahead. However, there is also no reason to yield beforehand to feelings of distrust and to defeatism. We have an experienced Communist Party, which has managed many times before to lead society over various cliffs of history. We build our good prospects on the traditional creativity, workmanship, and industry of our people and their love for the homeland, expressed in deeds in technology, science, and culture. These qualities have made us famous and, at the same time, they impose obligations on us. It is on these firm foundations that we base the confidence that the program of restructuring will be fulfilled.

The guarantee of the success of our further course of action lies in the promotion of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and, above all, in the creative utilization of the rich experience of its Communist Party from the assertion and testing of radical political and economic reforms. We, too, face a similar task, that of giving socialism the more modern form of a politically developed, highly democratic, economically efficient, socially equitable, and culturally and morally advanced society.

Comrades, in the public opinion of most countries, the conviction is gaining in strength that genuine progress is possible, neither at the expense of the rights of nations and individuals, nor at the expense of nature. The translation of this realization into life requires more rapid progress on the road toward renewing the dynamism and prestige of socialism. We avail ourselves of the most important internal and international prerequisites for that.

We help to shape a world in which, not the balance of military potentials, but the reasonable balance of legitimate interests of nations forms the basis of international

relations. The first breakthroughs in this respect have already been accomplished. In the name of the irreversibility of this process, Czechoslovakia implements an active foreign policy. We see our contribution to the implementation of the ideals of eternal peace in the mobilization of all material and intellectual potentials for the attainment of the goals of peaceful building work. From this gathering we are calling on all people of good will, at home and abroad, to unite their efforts.

Long live peace—the common task of the people of all countries!

Long live the Soviet Union—the foremost fighter for a future of the world in peace!

May our socialist homeland, the safe home of the nations of the CSSR, flourish!

Bilak Addresses Central Committee Session
AU2106152989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Jun 89 p 3

[Report on speech by Vasil Bilak, member of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, at the 14th session of the CPCZ Central Committee in Prague on 15 June]

[Text] Dividing cadres into old ones and young ones is in. A special theory is in the making: Whoever is old is a conservative, has no idea about restructuring, and whoever is young, is a fighter for progress and restructuring. Although many people regard this as being neither scientific nor the truth, we are witnessing so many peculiarities that even this theory can be applied.

The capitalist world is tenaciously foisting upon us its values and truths, and is beginning to believe that it will liquidate socialism and the socialist world even without a war. Unfortunately, there is quite a number of those who make a living out of always adapting themselves. All the more so, I agree with the assessments voiced here by the participants in the debate, that our party's general secretary, Comrade Milos Jakes, clearly formulates our political and ideological standpoints at sessions of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, so that words are not at variance with actions. This is the correct method and must be continued in order to see what has to be weighed, what has to be improved. This is the correct way to take a stance on issues and problems which move broad strata of the people, on what is taking place in the world, in the socialist countries, as well as here, at home. We must much more profoundly explain why there are shortcomings and what are the causes of the fact that these shortcomings, which have been criticized for years, are not being resolved. Not so long ago, Czechoslovakia's debt was reported at around $4.5 billion. Today the figure is $6.7 billion. It would be interesting to know who consumed it. Have we used it to purchase technology, scientific instruments, or has the money been spent on food? Simply, what have we spent it on?

The situation in the Republic is generally good, but let us not hide the fact that there are quite a few people, including party members, who are beginning to mark their time and are becoming passive. They are not against party policy, but they are also not committed politicians and fighters for the present policy. Such a situation logically creates a political vacuum, into which the opposition, with its demagoguery, is immediately muscling its way. We cannot ignore what is going on around us. I am one of those who are frankly afraid that the situation in Poland and Hungary has reached the limit of dramatic events. Our press, radio, and television should attempt to better inform our people about our views on individual issues pertaining to Czechoslovakia, about the views of the CPSU Central Committee, too, and not about those views which are being proclaimed by destructive groups and irresponsible elements. What can happen, how will CEMA work, what can it solve, how will our 5-year plan be constructed if we are surrounded by both economic and political chaos? We know the abuses, they have been criticized for years, but one often does not see anything being done about them. No wonder that people's trust in the policy of the party and the government has been weakened.

We must realize that the imperialist states will escalate their hostile campaign against Czechoslovakia. It is no secret that the CSSR stands in their way and that they want, and have to, break up the Republic and the unity between the party and the people at any price. From this arises the issue as to how we will behave, how we will live and work. The most important factor, undoubtedly, is the unity of the party, the unity of the Central Committee and its Presidium, so that a distortion and willful interpretation of party policy would not occur. Only this is the guarantee that the plans for the national economy and for scientific-technical development will be implemented and that the plans for restructuring will be implemented.

We have something to lean on. Comrade Jakes informed us that it is necessary to hold our special national characteristics in esteem. If we firmly stand on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and, at the same time, respect our special national characteristics, as Klement Gottwald did, the restructuring and the policy will be a success, which will serve the Czechoslovak people, socialist patriotism, and proletarian and socialist internationalism. By doing this, we will not weaken, but strengthen our friendship with the Soviet Union.

Three years have elapsed since the 17th congress. I am convinced that the approved line is generally correct. The difficulties with its implementation are more subjective than objective. After all, the cause of the crisis which occurred in the party and society after the 13th CPCZ Congress was not in the resolution of that 13th Congress, but in the fact that the then Central Committee did not concentrate on implementing it, on the

reform which was also worked out, on rectifying errors. Instead it succumbed to pressures to raise issues without proper political and cadre preparation.

Today voices resound, and it is being tenaciously foisted upon us, that, allegedly, we are worse off than Poland or Hungary, and as long as there will not be in our country such decomposition and political chaos, we probably will not be democratic enough. It is time to say really openly and aloud that this is a lie and a farce; Czechoslovakia is not undergoing an economic and political crisis. Assertions that our difficulties are the crisis of the political system and the entire socialist system are not true. We might have—and this is probably true—a crisis in cadres, but that is not a crisis of the system; crisis in cadres which have grown indolent, and do not want to acknowledge all the things that must be done for the tasks of the congresses, and the resolutions of the party and the government to be consistently implemented. We should not allow the existence of what Mr. Brzezinski asserts, that is, that historical optimism has made way for apocalyptic pessimism; we should not give him that pleasure. There exist problems and difficulties, but that is normal in the life of every family or individual; after all, the construction of a new society is impossible to carry out without problems and difficulties, and, unfortunately, even without tragic or big mistakes and errors. We must realize that those who tolerate the many existing failures are helping the hostile elements. By magnifying socialist shortcomings they want to disinform our people, weaken their certainty that we are on the correct path. Fortunately we have the lesson of the year 1968.

We cannot be indifferent to the fate of socialism. We identify with it. Although internationalism is disappearing from our vocabulary, from the pages of our press, it cannot disappear from our hearts and minds.

In the closing part of his speech, Comrade Bilak mentioned some foreign policy and cadre issues.

Urban Interviewed on Economic Development

AU1806200489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Jun 89 p 4

[Interview with Bohumil Urban, first CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, by Zdenek Hoffmann and Igor Sirota: "Prospects for the Economy; We Talk With Bohumil Urban, First CSSR Deputy Premier; On Preparations for the Ninth 5-Year Plan and the Long-Term Outlook for Development"—date, place not given; opening paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Text] The preparation of the long-term outlook for socioeconomic development up to the year 2005, and the Ninth 5-Year Plan have vital significance in the working program of our government. There are two reasons for this. On the one hand, the issue involves serious decisionmaking about further trends for continued economic and social development and, on the other hand, under the conditions of the comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism a completely new role of the state plan will be implemented in practice. We asked Bohumil Urban, first CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, at which stage is the preparation for this and for which main aims and tasks should the plan provide?

[Question] Could you characterize in more detail the present state of work on the long-term outlook and the next 5-year plan?

[Urban] The long-term outlook for the CSSR up to the year 2005 was drafted in various versions, just like the first draft of the economic directive on the preparation for the Ninth 5-Year Plan. I want to emphasize that we are talking about the first draft which serves, first and foremost, as an exchange of views. The federal government discussed the draft, with the proviso that it will be further improved. It is assumed that it will also be utilized during the preparation for the proceedings of the 18th Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Congress.

[Question] Which background materials were used during the drafting of the long-term outlook and the draft directive for the Ninth 5-year Plan?

[Urban] During the preparation of both documents we proceeded, first and foremost, from a series of projects carried out by the appropriate research and scientific institutes which deal with the long-term forecast. On behalf of all of them, I would like to mention the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences' Forecasting Institute. There are a number of suggestions and aspects in these projects which it is possible to use. Views on long-term development worked out by the national governments, the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development, and individual departments were also used. It might be said that this involves the collective work of a number of departments and specialized institutes under the leadership of the State Planning Commission.

[Question] What does the long-term outlook contain and what will its place be in the system of planning and management?

[Urban] The content of the long-term outlook is a proposal for developing our national economy in the next 15 years. It is a proposal which has more variants. The main idea is to select for this period the most suitable, demanding, but also feasible, variant for further development. Therefore, it is useful to consider the outlined proposals from all points of view and to subject them to constructive criticism, both from the aspect of world development and also from the aspect of our contemporary possibilities. Only then, will the above mentioned program for our economy and social development have a reliable and long-term basis.

[Question] In what way does the draft of the long-term outlook differ from past conceptions of development?

[Urban] Particularly in the fact that it does not place emphasis on the maximum pace of development but, first and foremost, it observes development to the benefit of improving the economy and efficiency. That is, it mainly gives preference to the quality of economic development with reference to, and utilization of, what is happening in the world. That is the first thing. The second thing is that all of the development will be accompanied by pressure for a change to the structure. It is our aim to develop sectors which are technologically advanced, salable in markets, and for which we have raw material and qualification prerequisites. At the same time, it will be necessary to suppress these products which do not have these prerequisites, that are outdated, or are materially and energetically disproportionately demanding. These processes are an element of the proposed concepts.

[Question] When will work on the Ninth 5-Year Plan be completed?

[Urban] The first draft directive for the years 1991-95 has already been worked out and was recently discussed by the federal government. In the third quarter of 1989, the federal government will once again consider the state of work on the plans for the Ninth 5-Year Plan. We reckon that the final draft directive will be submitted to the government, political organs, and enterprises, along with the draft for the 1990 plan, at the end of this year.

[Question] Could you briefly outline the main aims of the Ninth 5-Year Plan which are under consideration?

[Urban] The main aim which we want to achieve is to give the enterprise sphere such economic conditions and rules which in the state enterprises will absolutely naturally support the balanced state of our economy, efficiency, and structural changes, and which in their consequences will also support the growth of quality, and with it, the competitive capability of our products. A similarly important task will be the assertion of the merit principle in renumeration.

[Question] How does the draft directive for the Ninth 5-Year Plan proceed from the new concept of economic rules?

[Urban] The entire concept of the directive, and of the tasks arising from it, will correspond completely to the new economic mechanism. The state plan will contain a significantly lower number of mandatory targets. On the contrary, it will make use mainly of economic instruments: normative quotas [normativy], levies, taxes, credit terms, appropriations, prices, and so on.

[Question] Often we are asked why all of the rules are not yet unequivocally laid down.

[Urban] In view of the restructuring of wholesale and procurement prices, which only a few weeks ago indicated how some sections stand economically, this was not possible. Also, organizational restructuring, which is associated with a change to cooperative relations, changes the way we look at a number of national economic ties. Therefore, definitive rules will be prepared during the course of the third quarter, and will also become an element of the draft plan.

[Question] There is much talk about structural changes. Are these to be expected in the Ninth 5-year Plan?

[Urban] We must begin with structural change now. In the very near future, the federal government will discuss a concrete program of structural changes whose implementation will begin in the first years of the Ninth 5-Year Plan. In this period, it is envisaged that a reduction in coal and uranium ore mining and in steel production will lead to a significant change in production in engineering, in conjunction with a reduction in the production of the armaments industry.

Structural changes are, however, in some departments, including engineering, barely worked out and deserve our greater attention. The structure of investments will change significantly. In practice, this means that priority will be given to modernization and reconstruction with considerable restriction on the construction of new enterprises and plants. More investments will be made in the tertiary sphere: in health care, education, culture, and also in transport, communications, and services. The financing of investments will change markedly; the significance of one's own resources will increase. The state will participate in financing areas in which it will be in its interest, in sectors in which it wants to achieve development.

[Question] You talked about industry. Where will structural changes in agriculture and the construction industry be directed?

[Urban] In agriculture we are proceeding from the principle of maintaining and increasing self-sufficiency in food. We regard the reduction in costs and subsidies for agricultural production as an equally urgent task. In comparison with the world, we are producing some products too expensively and this cannot be a long-term concept. Development reckons with the modernization of the food industry. As far as the construction industry is concerned, the situation forces it to gradually orient itself towards taking a greater part in modernization and repair work, which will represent in the long term roughly half of all construction projects in industry. During a relatively short period, we must learn to build turnkey plants and formulate rules for this.

[Question] Another serious problem, which we did not manage to solve in the past, is involvement in the international division of labor. What should be changed in this regard?

[Urban] If we want a more demanding external environment to influence our producers, we must open our economy to the world. The whole philosophy of the plans for future periods proceeds from this.

[Question] Do you envisage that accelerated scientific-technical development will come about not only in capitalist countries, but also in the CEMA countries?

[Urban] The USSR will remain our vital trading partner even into the future. In the dynamism and structure of the mutual exchange of goods and services, significant changes are indeed coming about. The prices of imported oil and natural gas have fallen, which is for us, indisputably, a great advantage but, at the same time, the structure of Soviet demand for our goods is changing perceptively, and is shifting its interest toward supplies of industrial goods, mainly engineering and consumer goods with high technical parameters and of high quality. The Soviet market is becoming more demanding. We must reckon with the fact that in the Soviet Union, within the framework of restructuring, the method of coordinating the plans is also changing. A considerable part of the exchange of goods is the matter of the mutual ties between enterprises. Therefore, it will be necessary to look for partners. Competition in the Soviet market will also grow and conditions of competition and the freer determination of prices will be implemented. It is necessary to come to terms with these facts and to completely implement new forms of commercial and economic ties in general. An overwhelming part of cooperation will be realized on a complete commercial basis and Czechoslovak trade policy and commercial work must be flexibly adapted to this. A negative element in this process will continue to be the considerably high indebtedness of some socialist countries, where the political and economic priority will be guaranteeing their debt servicing. Therefore, we must accede to the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA Countries Scientific and Technical Progress much more concretely and decisively, and thoroughly link this implementation with the structural changes in our industrial production.

[Question] From what does the long-term outlook in relations with non-socialist countries proceed?

[Urban] If we want to develop more quickly, we must multiply our exchange of trade with the countries which are the bearers of new technology. The competition in developed markets is considerable, however, we will always find a place for our products which are capable of competition. The issue is to have as many of them as possible. The long-term concept proceeds from the fact that our enterprises will also choose for their modernization other mutually advantageous forms, such as mixed enterprises and suitable cooperation which will enable us to gain technology for the speedier growth of production, quality, and the productivity of labor. A higher exchange of goods must also have a positive influence on the higher variety of exchange and, with it, a richer market.

[Question] These are aims whose fulfillment is, however, at the present time, according to the opinion of many specialists, unfeasible....

[Urban] The results of analyses carried out recently indeed show that the Czechoslovak economy is still too unprepared for a deeper and more effective involvement in the international division of labor under exacting conditions. A decisive turnaround should be associated with the transfer of the whole enterprise sphere to the new economic mechanism. The implementation of the Ninth 5-Year Plan, then, will be a process of adaptation to the new situation in the world. The shorter this transition period is, the better it will be for us, for all of us.

[Question] The government is currently resolving a number of urgent problems connected with the present state of the economy and its performance. Do you think that the center's orientation toward long-term plans and strategy is the most important thing which the economy needs today?

[Urban] I am convinced that the economic problems of the present cannot be assessed in isolation from the long-term development trends, from what is going on in the world economy, and from the long-term intentions of our economic and social policy. Much of our experience, and the experience of other countries too, sufficiently affirm that such an isolated view is necessarily subjectivist, nondialectical, and cannot be a realistic foundation for planning. Such approaches to planning have always ended with a fiasco—to the detriment of society.

Should we also assess from that viewpoint, some partial and individual problems which the government must solve, then—in the overwhelming majority of cases—we will find out that that they have long-term roots caused by the fact that we were not solving those problems in time or only inconsistently. For example, the poor state of the Czechoslovak printing industry, about which RUDE PRAVO readers were informed, is the consequence of the fact that, for a long time, very little was invested in that sector. To put it more accurately, the investment was below the socially desirable level. In every 5-year plan there used to be so-called needier sectors, and the printing industry was one of the last ones. Thus, operative [operativní] problems prevented conceptual solutions. However, this is only one example.

It would be equally possible to present in a greater detail, the causes of the imbalance on the domestic market, in services, and so forth. This analysis always leads us to the conclusion that solid evidence was lacking for conceptual decisionmaking, solid evidence for being able to figure out the consequences of today's decisions, as well as evidence of the fact that those decisions were not made. Naturally, one cannot deduce from this that all the past decisions were wrong. Today, we frequently see them in a different light only because the external conditions have changed, a matter—in view of the

dimensions of our economy—which undoubtedly has its influence. Then, not infrequently, there were also enterprises' collectives which demanded stable conditions for development, and as a result, it was the center that bore the consequences of the external changes, a matter that intensified pressure on central resources. Therefore, concentrating solely on resolving contemporary problems, could mean that decisions on shaping the future economy will not be made in time.

[Question] The majority of our people are interested in problems and measures closely connected with the standard of living. Can you characterize the fundamental conceptual solution for the standard of living in Czechoslovakia?

[Urban] Raising the standard of living continues to be the purpose and objective of economic development, and the long-term outlook for the economic and social development, and the Ninth 5-Year Plan is also drafted based on that sense. We see a deeper interlinkage between the achieved standard of living of an individual and his income from work, which is contingent on the final results of his work. To put it concisely, both in consumption and remuneration, it is necessary to divorce ourselves from egalitarian notions. Likewise, social payments, too, will be contingent to a greater extent on the merit principle. Also, we assume that more marked structural changes will occur in the population's consumption. They will not have the nature of sudden quantitative improvement. We must expect a considerable increase in consumption, particularly of consumers' electronics. The speed of that increase in consumption will depend on the availability of those things, and on to what extent our manufacturers will react to the changes in consumers' demand under the new conditions. We also assume that the share of imported consumer goods will increase, a matter that will not only supplement or expand the choices, but by doing this we will push our manufacturers into real competition with foreign manufacturers. The benefit to our consumers should be indisputable.

[Question] What about improving services?

[Urban] A new look at the development of services for the population also is a part of our concept for raising the standard of living. The long-term concept reckons with the development of services, with a greater number of people being employed in that sphere, but also with the need to make services more economical by making more people use them to cover those expenses. In the future, the existing principles of management will not do, and we cannot reconcile ourselves to the fact that a number of services are sustaining losses. From this proceeds the program for the years to come.

[Question] The environment is a part of the standard of living, too.

[Urban] We have been neglecting the environment for years. The current situation is known. We have to objectively say that the Eighth 5-Year Plan was the first one in which considerable resources have been invested in accordance with a program. The government wants to continue this policy of constant improvement. The federal government's initiative in that respect is known. The program of the 5-year plan reckons with further increasing investment, almost doubling it compared with 1986-1990. The main part of investments will be spend on purifying waters and eliminating emissions.

[Question] What do you regard as vital for the realization of long-term development and the plans of the Eighth 5-Year Plan?

[Urban] It is people who will decide the results of the realization of the national economy's concept and our plans. Therefore, I regard the measure of how we will succeed—by going over to self-financing, and in motivating work collectives to do better and more efficient work—to be the most important thing.

Proposed Changes to Penal Code Outlined

AU1906082389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Jun 89 p 3

[Article by Karel Walter: "Combatting Crime More Effectively; Federal Assembly Deputies Discussed Draft Principles of Amendments to the Penal Code"]

[Excerpts] At the end of May, deputies to the CSSR Federal Assembly discussed in committees government-sponsored drafts of amendments to penal legislation: the Penal Law, the Law on Minor Offenses, the Criminal Code, and the Law on the Execution of the Punishment of Deprivation of Freedom.

The original intentions of the amendments, work on which has been in progress practically since 1970, were broader. As Jan Pjescak, CSSR prosecutor general, said when introducing the proposals, the CSSR Government now proposes partial amendments, such as would respond to the most urgent needs of restructuring and of the development of socialist democracy. However, at the same time it is necessary to prepare a whole new concept of penal legislation, projected in which would be the relevant provisions of the new constitution, as well as experiences from the application of protection against crime under the conditions of restructuring in our country and abroad.

Transfer to the Category of Misdemeanors

The criminal offense of leaving the Republic (Paragraph 109 of the Penal Law) is to be transferred to the category of misdemeanors. This step would allow the majority of our emigres to smoothly settle their relationships with our state, and would also contribute to the expansion of international cooperation in the humanitarian sphere and to the expansion of contacts.

The crossing of state borders by using violent methods, or the threat to use direct violence, should still be punished as a criminal offense. The conduct of a Czechoslovak citizen who is abroad without authorization, although he has been charged with keeping a state secret, should also be treated according to the Penal Law. [passage omitted]

Furthermore, some offenses that have so far been qualified as minor offenses, should be transferred to the category of misdemeanors. This applies, for example, to offenses against socialist cohabitation or to poaching. Some acts that have so far been qualified as criminal offenses are being deleted [from the Penal Law] altogether, among them are the acts of abusing a religious office, obstructing surveillance over churches and religious communities, and violating the law on the family (under which legal action used to be taken against the enactment of a religious wedding ceremony involving persons who had not concluded a civil marriage). Among the suggestions that were considered in proposing this amendment, was a letter by the Synod Council of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren to the Federal Assembly. [passage omitted]

In the committees, the question was also raised of whether our legal order does not permit too broad a possibility for the application of capital punishment. Jan Pjescak, CSSR prosecutor general, replied that conditions for the complete abolition of capital punishment do not yet exist in our country, although development is heading in that direction. In the spirit of the principles adopted by the UN, we shall take the path of reducing the number of capital punishments by further tightening the criteria for their imposition and execution. He also said that, in his opinion, the number of acts (26) for which it is possible to inflict capital punishment really is rather high.

Against Machinations and Corruption

Deputies of all committees welcomed proposals ensuring legal protection of the economic mechanism, and the enhanced protection of public interests against corruption. [passage omitted]

The proposal to substantially increase the punishment for the criminal offense of accepting a bribe met with the deputies' unequivocal support. If this offense is committed by a public official, for example, who gains considerable benefit from it, he will be threatened with a prison term of between 3 and 10 years. [passage omitted]

New Criminal Offenses

The proposed amendment to the Penal Law also recommends that some new acts be qualified as criminal offenses, or that the existing provisions be complemented. [passage omitted]

According to the principles that have been submitted, one should punish as a criminal offense the gross violation of regulations on environmental protection (including unlawful handling of nuclear materials), if this results in serious threat to the environment. The proposals also provide for the introduction of the following as acts constituting a criminal offense: vandalism (such as the destruction of orchards, park facilities, the interior public transportation vehicles, and so forth), hostage taking, and the violation of rights and protected interests of soldiers by other soldiers (so-called bullying). It is also being recommended, among other things, that provisions on the deliberate spreading of infectious diseases be extended, with a clause specifying the punishment for the importation or spreading of the acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) or another similarly dangerous disease. It is being recommended that a prison term of between 3 and 10 years be fixed for such an act.

The deputies of virtually all committees also demanded a harsher penalty for the spreading of alarmist reports. This concerns offenders who, chiefly by means of anonymous telephone calls, cause particularly grave social consequences, endanger the operation of various facilities, and the like.

Keeping Citizens' Rights and Liberties in Mind]

The deputies' suggestions concerning the principles of amendments to the Criminal Code were connected, in particular, with those passages on criminal proceedings that represent the greatest intervention in citizens' personal rights and liberties. The most serious reservations concerned the duration of custody pending trial, the period between the detainment of a person on the basis of a warrant and his delivery into custody, as well as the period between the detainment of a person who had been caught red-handed and the prosecutor's decision about this person. [passage omitted] Some deputies demanded that the proposed relevant provisions be reconsidered. They recommended, in particular, incorporating into the amendment an upper limit on the period of custody that must not be exceeded.

When discussing the amendment to the Criminal Code, the deputies criticized the Ministry of Justice of the Czech Socialist Republic, which is the guarantor of the preparation of this section of amendments to the penal legislation, because, even prior to the discussion of the principles [of the amendment] by the highest legislative body, it submitted the draft of the paragraph-by-paragraph wording for appraisal. Deputy Oldrich Blazek, from the Constitutional and Legal Committee of the People's Chamber, for example, said that such course of action runs completely counter to the rules of the legislative process, as well as to the efforts to democratize society. The Constitutional and Legal Committees of the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations asked their chairmen that they inform the chambers' Presidiums about this violation of the principles of legislative activity.

As far as the proposed amendment to the Law on the Execution of the Punishment of Deprivation of Freedom is concerned, the deputies endorsed, in particular, the intention to further specify and differentiate the execution of punishment with a view to reinforcing its educational mission. [passage omitted]

Gorbachev Sends Greetings to Jakes, Husak

AU2006153889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Jun 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Mikhail Gorbachev's Salutatory Telegram While Flying Over the CSSR"]

[Text] Prague—On Thursday [15 June], while flying over CSSR territory en route back to his homeland from an official visit to the FRG, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, sent Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and Gustav Husak, CSSR president, the following salutatory telegram:

I am sending you, dear comrades, and the fraternal Czechoslovak people, my cordial greetings and most sincere wish for success in the utilization of the potential of socialist society. I express my profound conviction that the close cooperation and collaboration between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia corresponds to the vital interests of the nations of our countries, to peace, and stability in Europe.

Vatican Says Human Rights March Held in Prague

LD2106195789 Vatican City International Service in Czech 1730 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] More than 2,000 citizens marched through Prague yesterday to demonstrate peacefully for the upholding of human rights in Czechoslovakia. The demonstration was organised by six independent groups. The police made identity checks and detained five people, who were released after the demonstration however. Plain-clothes police confiscated several cameras and damaged at least two, press agencies report. The demonstration was due to take place on 15 June, but the authorities did not permit it.

It was agreed at yesterday's demonstration that no slogans would be shouted or placards carried, but it would be a silent march through the town, so that the public would be reminded of the session in Paris about upholding human rights in Europe. One petition, which was circulated among those present at the end of the demonstration, expressed the demand that Ivan Jirous be released from imprisonment.

Hijackers Go on Trial in Frankfurt 20 Jun

LD2006203489 Prague CTK in English 1930 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Text] Bonn June 30 (CTK correspondent)—Two Czechoslovak citizens, Stefan Macicko and Dusan Styk, who hijacked a Hungarian airliner at Prague Airport on March 29, went on trial today in a Frankfurt juvenile court.

The 16-year-old hijackers, armed with a sawn-off shotgun and a rifle, forced the crew of the plane of the Hungarian airline Malev to fly to Frankfurt, where they disembarked and surrendered to West German police.

The prosecutor's office charges the two defendants with holding refugees and violating air transport.

Representatives of the Frankfurt judicial bodies today told CTK that the trial is not open to public and the participation of journalists is excluded.

The trial of the two defendants takes place in Frankfurt, despite repeated demands by the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry for their extradition. The DPA news agency said today that the West German authorities rejected this request, which was not, however, confirmed by a spokesman for the West German Foreign Ministry.

The Czechoslovak side pointed to the fact that all conditions for extraditing the hijackers set by the West German legal code have been fulfilled. It voiced the conviction that the West German bodies will approach the considering of the request on the basis of the joint principle that terrorism cannot be justified in any circumstances. The parents of the hijackers also demanded their extradition to the Czechoslovak authorities.

CSSR, Britain Submit Explosives Document to UN

AU2006144589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Jun 89 p 1

[CTK report: "UN Security Council Approves Czechoslovak-British Resolution"]

[Text] New York—Late on Wednesday night [15 June], the UN Security Council unanimously approved a draft of a resolution on the control of plastic explosives, which was jointly submitted by representatives of Czechoslovakia and Britain. The document, No. 635, was received with great satisfaction and described as an important step toward working out an extensive international convention on that issue.

Johanes Meets With Tunisian Counterpart in Prague

AU2006144289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Jun 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] In Prague on Wednesday [14 June], Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign relations, met with Abdelhamid Escheikh, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Tunisia, who has made a brief stopover in Czechoslovakia. They discussed some international political issues and Czechoslovak-Tunisian relations.

Johanes Receives Iraqi Deputy Minister

LD2106225689 Prague CTK in English 1438 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Prague June 21 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes received here today Iraqi Deputy Foreign Minister Nizar Hamdun in the framework of the current Czechoslovak-Iraqi inter-ministerial consultations.

They reviewed bilateral realtions, possibilities of their further development, and the international situation, above all questions connected with a just settlement of the Middle East situation.

Baghdad Reports Meeting

JN2106163589 Baghdad INA in English 1500 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Prague, Jun. 21, INA—The Czechoslovak foreign minister Jaromir Johanes met here today with the Iraqi Foreign Undersecretary Nizar Hamdun.

During the meeting, bilateral relations and means of developing them in different fields were discussed.

The Czechoslovak official renewed, during the meeting, his country's support for all the efforts exerted for implementing the UN Security Council's Resolution 598 on ending the Iraq-Iran war and establishing comprehensive, just and durable peace in the region.

He also confirmed his country's support for struggle of the Palestinian people and their right to establish their independent state on their entire national soil.

Bulgarian Military Delegation Departs 15 Jun

AU2006152889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Jun 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] Colonel Mitko Mitkov, member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and chief of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army, and members of his entourage concluded their official visit and left Czechoslovakia on Thursday [15 June].

Deputy Foreign Minister Sadovsky Visits Austria

Arrives 15 Jun

AU1506180989 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 15 Jun 89 p 2

["B.B." report: "Vienna-Prague Dialogue Continued"]

[Text] Vienna—CSSR Deputy Defense Minister Pavel Sadovsky has arrived in Vienna for 2-day talks. His talks with Foreign Minister Mock and Klestil, secretary general of the Foreign Ministry, focus on an assessment of bilateral relations. At present, Austria is especially pressing for improvements in travel between the two states: Vienna wants an agreement on visas without charge, more CSSR checkpoints that issue visas, and faster train connections. A bilateral working group will deal with these proposals at the end of June.

Other topics to be discussed with, according to Sadovsky: the human rights situation in the CSSR, the continuation of mutual high-level visits, and soliciting Prague's understanding, in view of the fear of nuclear power in wide circles of the Austrian population.

Holds Talks With Klestil

AU1906082189 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 16 Jun 89 p 2

[Report by Burkhard Bischof: "Vienna-Prague Dialogue—CSSR Rejects 'Headmaster'"]

[Text] Vienna—Regardless of occasional "outbreaks of intolerance," the CSSR is ready to continue the dialogue and cooperation with Austria in all areas. This was stated yesterday by CSSR Deputy Foreign Minister Pavel Sadovsky, who is visiting Vienna for 2-day talks with Foreign Minister Mock and Foreign Ministry Secretary General Klestil. Klestil stressed Austria's willingness to further improve its neighborly relations with the CSSR, despite different views on a number of problems. He said that the border between the two countries must increasingly lose its importance in the future.

Sadovsky said that it was a goal of the Prague government to incorporate the CSCE accords of Helsinki, Madrid, and Vienna in the CSSR's legislation. Regarding human rights or environmental protection, no one has the right to act like a "headmaster" toward Prague, he said.

New projects that Vienna and Prague intend to start are the additional lessening of travel restrictions (Austria also urges decreased restrictions for business people in this respect), the intensification of regional cooperation, the purchase of a site for building an Austrian cultural institute in Prague, and an investment protection agreement. Sadovsky stressed repeatedly that in the area of

bilateral economic relations both countries should proceed from the first stage, classical goods exchange, to the second stage—cooperation, joint research, and setting up joint ventures.

Sadovsky invited Klestil to pay a return visit to Prague. A visit of the Prague chief of government, Ladislav Adamec, to Vienna is scheduled for before the end of this year. Foreign Minister Mock could visit Prague this fall.

Czechoslovak-Japanese Enterprise Founded

AU2006161589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Jun 89 p 8

[CTK report: "The First Joint Enterprise With Japan"]

[Text] Bratislava/Martin—The first joint Czechoslovak-Japanese enterprise, Petrimex International, with its headquarters in Sydney, Australia, will come into operation from 1 January 1990. Its founders from the Foreign Trade Agency [OZO] Petrimex Bratislava and the largest Japanese trading house, C. Itoh, announced this on Thursday [15 June], in Bratislava. The representatives of C. Itoh negotiated in the capital city of the Slovak Socialist Republic, within the framework of a visit by a group of Japanese entrepreneurs which was taking part in a joint session of the Czechoslovak-Japanese economic committee in Prague.

The commercial activity of OZO Petrimex in the overall Czechoslovak-Japanese exchange will account for approximately 18 percent; it concerns mainly the export of plastic materials, chemical additives, and agro-chemicals for the C. Itoh company. The volume of Czechoslovak exports reached $24 million last year. The founders of the joint enterprise have resolved to achieve an annual turnover of around $30 million by the sale of Czechoslovak chemical products in southeast Asia and in the Middle East.

Chisachi Kato, Japanese ambassador to the CSSR, was present at the meeting in OZO Petrimex.

Cambodian Delegation Discusses Aid, Ends Visit

AU2006150289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Jun 89 p 2

[CTK report: "End of the Cambodian Delegation's Visit"]

[Text] Prague—We highly appreciate the unselfish help of Czechoslovakia in the reconstruction and defense of Cambodia—said Ros Chhun, head of an official delegation of the Kampuchean United Front for National Reconstruction and Defense and its general secretary, in a conversation with a CTK reporter on Wednesday [14 June], at the end of the delegation's visit to the CSSR, which took place at the invitation of the CSSR National Front Central Committee.

Ros Chhun appreciated that the CSSR has been providing material and moral support since the start of the liberation of Cambodia from the genocidal regime of Pol Pot in 1979. He expressed the conviction that the Czechoslovak side will continue to provide his country with comprehensive aid.

During the course of its stay, the Cambodian delegation discussed the signing of an agreement on cooperation between the CSSR National Front and the Kampuchean United Front for National Reconstruction and Defense in the coming period, the training of activists from the Kampuchean Front in the CSSR, study for Cambodian students in the CSSR, and issues of the material assistance given to the Kampuchean Front by the CSSR National Front from the CSSR National Front Peace and Solidarity Fund.

Delegation Departs 15 Jun

AU2006150589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Jun 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] An official delegation of the Kampuchean United Front for National Reconstruction and Defense led by Ros Chhun, its general secretary, left Czechoslovakia on Thursday [15 June].

Opposition's Behavior at Nagy Funeral Criticized

AU2206090489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Jun 89 p 2

[Editorial by TASS commentator Aleksander Kondrashov: "On the Reburial of Imre Nagy"]

[Text] The ceremony held in Budapest on 16 June on the occasion of the reburial of Imre Nagy, which was designed to mark an end to the tragic events of the past and the pave the way for national reconciliation and harmony within Hungarian society, unfortunately resulted in something different. The speeches of representatives of opposition forces that were not in harmony with the atmosphere of a funeral, and which contained vehement attacks against the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], the Soviet Union, socialism, and the international obligations of the Hungarian People's Republic, caused only anxiety and concern both in Hungary and other socialist states.

Even when adopting a completely unprejudiced stance, most of the statements made during the ceremony must be rejected, for the simple reason that remarks about "40 years of Soviet occupation in Hungary" and the "Asian blind alley" where it was driven by the Soviet Union, and statements comparing Li Peng or Jaruzelski with Pol Pot, are not arguments or even propagandist methods, but revilements and insults. In my view, the impact of the biting statements of these "fighters against communist dictatorship" must not be underestimated.

During the funeral ceremony in Budapest on 16 June, the program of the extremist part of the Hungarian opposition was presented in a concentrated form. It should be clearer to many now, that the goal of this opposition is not the humanization of socialism in Hungary, the comprehensive and balanced clarification of the "blank spots" in the country's history, the implementation of economic reforms and an increase in the people's prosperity. The complete undermining of the positions of the MSZMP within society, the withdrawal of Soviet troops which are deployed in Hungary under bilateral agreements and obligations resulting from the Warsaw Pact, while at the same time blaming all economic problems and tragic aspects of Hungarian history on the USSR—these are the major aims of a number of alternative and opposition groups.

Of course, one must not overlook the fact that the speakers who addressed the funeral ceremony do not represent broad sections of the Hungarian population. The overwhelming majority of the country's population supports friendship and alliance with the USSR. Irresponsible assertions to the effect that the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary allegedly prevents the development of freedom are all the more disquieting. It is quite obvious and it has generally been recognized, that the Soviet Union does not interfere in any way in the reform process in Hungary. The Soviet troops, which are exclusively stationed in Hungary as a counterforce to NATO troops in Europe, are currently being reduced and withdrawn from Hungary. As a matter of fact, the Soviet Union has repeatedly declared its support and understanding for the process of renewal in Hungary, and has stated that many of the tasks that must be solved by the Hungarian people are similar to the tasks that have to be tackled by the Soviet Union in restructuring the country. In addition to that, earlier statements by alternative and opposition leaders suggested that Soviet restructuring has a positive influence on the process of democratization in Hungary. Now, all of a sudden, they claimed that the Soviet Union is considered to be a opponent to Hungarian reforms.

This does not only apply to the Soviet Union. If one analyzes press reports by opposition representatives and the campaigns they are launching, which are undoubtedly aimed at triggering a conflict with Romania and the CSSR, one arrives at a clear conclusion: The opposition is trying to get the country's public to believe that its socialist neighbors, the Warsaw Pact countries, are its opponents.

Not without good reason did the rally in Budapest give rise to concern in Romania and the CSSR. "Certain circles in the West would like to see the funeral ceremonies for Imre Nagy as a symbolic burial of socialism," Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party stated recently. "However, on the contrary, we believe that the forces that link Hungary's future with socialism are getting stronger. There is no doubt that progressive people in our country and other countries want this."

The far-reaching political and economic reforms, as well as the reappraisal of events and politicians of the country's past, are an internal matter that concerns only the Hungarian people. The development of Soviet-Hungarian friendship, this extremely valuable asset of our peoples, is a bilateral affair. The feelings of friendship and affection that the Soviet people have for the Hungarian people remain unchanged. We believe that these feelings are shared by most of the Hungarians, who are doing everything possible so that our relations are not poisoned by such incidents.

Gorbachev Reportedly To Visit GDR 7 Oct

AU2106150389 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 21 Jun 89 p 4

[Hans-R. Karutz report: "The SED Leadership Is Driven by Concern About the 'China Syndrome'"]

[Excerpts] Berlin—Asked by his interlocutors in confidential talks with leading German party representatives in Bonn, General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev predicted political changes in the GDR: "Erich Honecker will start to move soon." In addition, Gorbachev plans to go to East Berlin on 7 October for the GDR's 40th birthday. The prediction of political movement also in

the other German state was broached during harsh, but businesslike debates among "young leaders" from East and West, as well as leading politicians of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] at a conference of the Aspen German-U.S. "think-tank" in East Berlin.

Bonn's "Enemy Image"

Honecker adviser Otto Reinhold reacted to these statements by participants with obvious surprise: "More than other countries, the GDR is moving and continues this movement." The trip through the Wall at Checkpoint Charlie showed—all in all—increasing uncertainty about the future development in the East Bloc, fear of political pressure from Bonn (Culture Minister Hoffmann: "Since the elimination of the enemy image of the USSR we feel we are Bonn's new enemy image!"), but also market trends of a "new thoughtfulness." "Doves" and "hawks" in the SED leadership—who could be easily sorted out during the 10-hour visit—are both equally driven by the concern about future developments in the East Bloc and about the "China Syndrome." [passage omitted]

Hope and Skepticism

How much hope and skepticism are in balance under the hammer and the compass at present, was expressed by Honecker's confidant, East-West lawyer Wolfgang Vogel, the day before: Equipped with a special permit, he participated in a human rights debate in the Reichstag—50 meters from the Wall. He advocated "pragmatic solutions." In his country, developments will continue positively: "The signs have been set that way." He himself is often impatient: "I would like to move more things, but I cannot."

The balance sheet of the high-ranking conference: On the other side of the Wall the wind of change is also blowing. However, it is still adjusted to the (slightly lagging) socialist gait.

Personnel Changes in Moscow Embassy Reported

AU2106150289 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 21 Jun 89 p 1

["W.K." report: "Did East Berlin Consider Diplomats in Danger Because of Perestroyka?"]

[Text] Bonn/Moscow—The personnel of the GDR Embassy in Moscow has been changed almost completely. Only Ambassador Gerd Koenig (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) and Embassy Counselor Karl Mittenzwei remained at their posts. Diplomatic circles in East Berlin spoke of a "total reshuffling," which must be seen in connection with perestroyka in the Soviet Union.

Over the past few months, first Envoy Siegried Koerner, then the head of the trade representation, five of his six deputies, as well as another eight embassy counselors, numerous secretaries, and nine attaches have been replaced one after the other. Political observers see the reasons for this mainly in the confrontation of the East Berlin diplomats with restructuring in the USSR. Of the approximately 65 embassy employees who have come to Moscow over the past years, most were not prepared for the changes on the political and social scene. GDR graduates of the Moscow diplomatic college and the International Relations Institute have also shown considerable irritation, it was said in East Berlin. The exchange of embassy personnel is also allegedly intended to reduce the influence of the Soviet secret service, KGB, and GRU, the military intelligence service. At present, the Soviets are trying to compensate for the generational change in liaison people in the GDR party and state apparatus with more intensive hiring of young officers.

So far, nothing has become known concerning the filling of the vacant post of an envoy. Embassy Counselor Karl-Heinz Fehlhaber from the apparatus of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has been temporarily sent to Moscow as the ambassador's deputy. The third new man at the head of the Embassy, Major General Hans Unterdoerfel, is responsible for the army, navy, and air force. All deputies in the military department with the rank of colonel have also been withdrawn.

SED Central Committee Plenum Opens 22 Jun

LD2206084789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0817 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The eighth session of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee opened today in Berlin. Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central committee, will deliver the Politburo report.

Commentary Views New Round of Arms Talks

AU2106143989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Jun 89 p 2

["ng" commentary: "New Beginning in Geneva"]

[Text] Talks on nuclear disarmament were resumed in Geneva yesterday [19 June]. After an initial meeting between the chief negotiators, the USSR and Unites States will start a new round of talks on strategic offensive and space weapons before the end of this week. Thus, the 7-month pause of reflection that the Bush administration had demanded has come to an end.

The peoples are expecting a great deal from the resumption of Soviet-U.S. negotiations. After all, the key problem of nuclear disarmament is under discussion here. Strategic offensive weapons include land-based ballistic missiles with a range of over 5,500 km, missiles with greater larger ranges that are stationed in submarines, and large bombers. All in all, these are nuclear weapons systems that can hit and destroy vital targets on the territory of the other side. They account for over nine-tenths of the nuclear potential of the two nuclear powers.

Following the USSR-U.S. summit in Reykjavik in October 1986, there is agreement in principle that the strategic offensive weapons should be reduced by 50 percent. Quite a number of questions have already been settled in this respect and have been stipulated in coordinated parts of a joint draft agreement. However, hopes for a corresponding treaty to be concluded before the end of 1988 were not fulfilled. Basically, two problems remained unresolved. One is linked with the observance of the ABM Treaty concluded in 1972, which bans the testing and stationing of weapons in space. Second, limits have not yet been agreed for sea-based cruise missiles of great range, a type of weapon that was newly introduced by the Unites States at the middle of the eighties.

When the Soviet and U.S. chief negotiators meet again, they do not have to start at zero. It must not be overlooked, however, that the United States is meanwhile developing new nuclear launchers, such as mobile land-based missiles, and radar-absorbing long-distance bombers, that it adheres to the SDI program, and that it has not adopted a definite stance on the ABM Treaty so far.

The negotiations will show whether the United States is really willing to drastically reduce strategic offensive weapons and to prevent an arms race in space.

17 Killed, 36 Injured in Plane Crash

AU2106113689

[Editorial Report] According to an 800-word report published by East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 19 June on page 1 under the headline "Berlin-Schoenefeld: 17 Killed and 36 Injured in Plane Crash," 17 passengers were killed and 36 injured in the crash of an Il-62 Interflug aircraft at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport on 17 June. Air traffic, which was partly resumed at around 0950 on 17 June, "is back to normal."

Sympathy for Crash Victims

AU2106191989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Jun 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Deep Sympathy of GDR Party and State Leadership"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the GDR State Council expressed their profound sorrow and sincere sympathy to the families of the people that were killed in the air crash on 17 June.

The GDR party and state leadership assured the families of the victims that in these bitter hours they can firmly count on the comprehensive assistance and the support of the socialist state and the solidarity of all citizens.

Those who were injured will receive every care of the state and social organs of our country, the message concludes.

Honecker Speaks at Teacher Awards Ceremony

AU1906180289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Jun 89 p 2

[Speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at a ceremony where he presented high awards to meritorious teachers on the occasion of Teacher's Day in Berlin on 12 June: "Teachers Have Decisively Participated in Shaping Socialism on German Soil"]

[Text] Dear comrades, dear friends:

It is a particular pleasure for me to congratulate you, teachers, educators, teachers at pedagogical colleges, school functionaries, pedagogical scientists, and all other staff workers of the public education sector on your day of honor, and to express gratitude and respect to you on behalf of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the GDR.

Today, on Teacher's Day and on the occasion of the Ninth Pedagogical Congress of the GDR, meritorious teachers have been honored with high state awards. In this way we are paying tribute to their performance in educating and training the young generation, and express our appreciation for their work for the benefit of our children and for the development of the public education sector.

What Teachers Do Has an Effect Well Into the 3d Millennium

The teachers have decisively participated in shaping the history of our Republic, the first socialist worker-peasant state on German soil. Without their work, the achievements accomplished over 4 decades would be unthinkable. The teachers and educators are doing everything in their power to educate our young people in the spirit of socialism, peace, progress, and proletarian internationalism, and in the spirit of love and loyalty to our socialist fatherland. Thus, the passionate pledge of the young people to the GDR at the Whitsun Meeting of the Free German Youth in Berlin was also eloquent proof of the teachers' tireless work.

We are guided by the premise that our ambitious goals for the benefit of the people and the unity of economic and social policy can be reached only if the necessary lead in education is ensured at any time. All this represents a great challenge to the teachers, the quality of their teaching, and their entire pedagogical work. What the teachers are doing today has an effect well into the 3d millennium.

The Ninth Pedagogical Congress Will Introduce a New Stage in Our Public Education Sector

The Ninth Pedagogical Congress, which will start tomorrow, is an important event in our people's lives. In the 40th year of the existence of the GDR, it introduces a new stage in our public education sector. We are convinced that this congress will make an important contribution to further developing this sector in preparation for the 12th SED Congress.

Dear friends, when at the end of World War II we started to remove the material and intellectual ruins left by Hitlerite fascism, and to build something new, we did not face small or easy tasks. We fulfilled them successfully. Already in 1978, I pointed out that the performances of our socialist education sector over several generations reflect the work of teachers, who have grown up in the process of the revolutionary restructuring of our society and the resulting profound changes in educating the people. How much more justified we have to say today that, in this process, all the children of the people are given the opportunity to achieve great knowledge and to develop their talents and creative skills, that they are offered equal opportunities, and are equipped for the future.

Like the Right to Work, the Human Right to Education is Part of the Nature of Our State

Our general polytechnical secondary school and our entire public education sector correspond to the interests of the people and also meet with international respect and recognition. The implemented human right to education can be as little separated from the nature of the developed socialist society, which we are shaping in the GDR, as the right to work or the prospects that are worth aspiring to. Freedom and humaneness remain only empty words where such decisive foundations are missing, and where the rich get richer and the poor get poorer in the so-called "two-thirds" society of capital.

Strong, Attractive Socialism and Secure Peace—the Foundation for a Happy Future

Educating and training the young generation, the adolescent citizens, is and remains one of the most valuable, most responsible concerns of the schools, as well as of the parents', childrens', and youth organizations, of the enterprises, and of the entire society in our country. It will always be particularly important to describe the path that has led to the GDR's position in the world today, this path of great efforts and performances, of overcoming no few difficulties, and of often harsh struggle, whose results make us justifiably proud. It will be important to promote an understanding of the reasons, contradictions, and connections of international events and the international situation, of the historical regularities of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism, and to open up the view toward the future in which only socialism can guarantee the people's happiness. It is the only alternative to capitalism.

The GDR's Development Questions Continue To Be Solved in Line With National Conditions

For us, Marxism-Leninism is the reliable compass, and by creatively applying it, we will be able to continue to solve the GDR's development question in a way that best corresponds to our national conditions. In this, we do not let ourselves be led astray by those people who do not want to accept the development of socialism and its influence on world events, and who are trying to drag the peoples of the socialist states back into the capitalist "system of values." However, at the same time, this means that they do not want to forego their policy of aggression. We do not intend to take the socialist revolution to nonsocialist countries, but we will continue to thwart all attempts to restore capitalism in our country.

A strong, attractive socialism and a secure peace—this is what we are trying to achieve in our everyday work and this is what the teachers and pedagogues of our republic are working for, because this is the foundation of a happy future in which mankind can live free of the threat of nuclear destruction and of new wars, and in which future generations will continue the work started by us.

Dear friends and comrades, on the eve of the Ninth Pedagogical Congress, the party and the state are paying tribute to meritorious teachers, educators, and school functionaries. They are doing this with the firm conviction that they will continue to use their professional skills and experiences in the tested cooperation with parents, the Free German Youth, and its "Ernst Thaelmann Pioneer Organization," the socialist enterprises, and the many allies of the public education sector, to honorably fulfill their assignment.

At the proposal of the SED Central Committee Politburo and the Presidium of the GDR Council of Ministers, I award to you the Karl-Marx Order, the honorary title "Hero of Work," the Fatherland Order of Merit, and the "Banner of Work" Order. You are receiving the honorary titles of "Meritorious Teacher of the People" and "Meritorious Master of Sports." I congratulate you very cordially on these high awards and I wish you success, good health, and joy in your further work.

Honecker Greets JWC's Bronfman on Birthday

AU2106203489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Greetings to Edgar M. Bronfman on 60th Birthday"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, sent a greetings telegram to Edgar M. Bronfman, president of the Jewish World Congress, on the occasion of his 60th birthday. In his message, Erich Honecker noted that Bronfman can look back upon a

committed effort for peace and international understanding. The work of Edgar M. Bronfman, which has been characterized by reason, realism, and mutual respect, is highly appreciated in the GDR, Honecker noted. His support for the development of good relations between the GDR and the United States is regarded as a modern contribution to the mutual benefit and for the promotion of international political dialogue.

FRG Coverage of Pedagogical Congress Criticized

AU2106132389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Jun 89 p 2

[Unattributed editorial: "Aware of the Responsibility for the Future of the Young, in Preparation for the 12th SED Congress; on the Ninth GDR Pedagogical Congress"]

[Excerpt] The Ninth Pedagogical Congress of the GDR, which was attended by over 4,300 delegates and guests in the Palace of the Republic in Berlin's Marx-Engels Square from 13-15 June, has set clear signals. The delegates, 85 percent of whom came directly from the practice of socialist education in all kreises of our Republic, together with guests from all spheres of our society, stated the following in their declaration of intent as the legitimate representatives of hundreds of thousands of teachers, educators, trainers for teachers, scientists, and parents:

"We declare the support for our country and everything that has been created during the 40 years of the GDR's existence. We are proud to be able to work as pedagogues in a state that has once and for all eradicated imperialism, militarism, war, hatred of other peoples, and fascism, exploitation and suppression, and we are proud of its policy that is aimed at peace, the well-being of the people, a secure future for us and our children."

The strong political accents that the Pedagogical Congress in Berlin has set resulted mainly from the fact that it took place a few months before the 40th anniversary of the founding of our state. When the first worker-peasant state on German soil was constituted on 7 October 1949, its school system had already undergone radical changes as a result of the antifascist-democratic school reform that was initiated in 1945-46, whose progressive contents, together with the democratic land reform and industrial reform, decisively determined the political character of the new state. Since that time, there has been a political identity between our state and our education system such as never existed before. Teachers, students, and parents know that our state promotes the educational system in every respect in an exemplary manner. In the same way, the whole society appreciates the contribution that our education system is making to progress in all spheres of life, to the attractiveness and strength of our socialist fatherland.

The fact that the speakers who addressed the Ninth GDR Pedagogical Congress demonstrated a clear personal commitment when they expressed their views not only on pedagogical questions, but also on topical issues concerning international political developments, was not only due to the temporal proximity of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR; it was also a result of the geographical proximity of the state that divides Europe [Spalterstaat], where hostility toward socialism has always been preached, and this is something which has always been understood as a challenge by our teachers, as a challenge to meet the special responsibility for training our youth in a spirit of socialism, peace, humanity, and political reason.

Of course, the politically minded, well-informed, and extraordinarily responsible pedagogues of our country did not fail to notice the cross-border aggressiveness of the ZDF, ARD, RIAS TV, and other television stations, with which they now project and concentrate their anticommunist hostile image on the GDR and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

It must be stated at this point that not a single FRG paper, no radio station, and no television station in the FRG and Berlin (West) provided the listeners and viewers with a single detail about the contents of the Ninth Pedagogical Congress of the GDR that corresponded to the truth. Since the GDR's education system enjoys international respect, and also in the countries within the frequently mentioned European home, since the experiences, successes, and development problems of our education systems are traditionally meeting with recognition worldwide, including the FRG and Berlin (West), since progressive teachers and parents, children's and youth organizations on the Western side of our border traditionally show great interest in the renewal of our education system, the pedagogues can only hope that sensible persons in the FRG will do something to at least partially reduce the embarassing deficit of information during the next few days. [passage omitted]

Krolikowski Meets Belorussian Delegation

AU2006075189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Friendly Meeting With Soviet Delegation"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Wednesday [14 June], Werner Krolikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], received a Soviet party delegation, headed by Nikolay Dementey, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia, which visited the "Agra 89" fair and acquainted itself in the bezirks of Leipzig, Halle, and Potsdam, and in Berlin with the SED's agricultural policy and the development of socialist agriculture in the GDR.

Werner Krolikowski briefed the guests on the implementation of the decisions of the seventh Central Committee session and the preparation of the 12th SED Congress. He pointed out that the SED is paying particular attention to ensuring a stable high level food supply to the people as an essential element of the unity of economic and social policy. The strength of the agricultural producer cooperatives, state-owned farms, and of cooperation relations is the guarantee of production intensification for an ever closer link between science and the peasants' practical work and a steady performance increase. Nikolay Dementey explained the efforts of the USSR party and government to implement the decisions on agricultural policy made at the March plenum of the CPSU Central Committee (1989). Both sides stressed the usefulness of a regular exchange of experiences, and spoke in favor of further deepening cooperation in the spirit of the agreements recently concluded between the agriculture departments of the Central Committee of the two parties.

The talk, which took place in a cordial atmosphere, was attended by Vyacheslav Kochemasov, Soviet Ambassador to the GDR and Helmut Semmelmann, member of the Central Committee and director of the Agriculture Department of the SED Central Committee.

Brandenburg Delegation Ends Magnitogorsk Visit
AU2106203989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Jun 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Magnitogorsk Expects Visit by Erich Honecker"]

[Excerpt] Moscow (ADN)—On Saturday [17 June], a delegation from Brandenburg concluded its visit to Magnitogorsk. During their several-day stay in the city in the southern Urals, where a sister-city agreement was concluded, the guests from the GDR familiarized themselves in enterprises and institutions with the economic and social achievements of the working people of Magnitogorsk and exchanged experiences of solving tasks of local policy.

Winfried Mitzlaff, first secretary of the Brandenburg kreis leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, told ADN that the visit has completely fulfilled its objective. "Everywhere, in the streets, in the metallurgical combine, or in the other institutions that we visited, we could feel the support for the joining of our two cities. At the same time, great joy was expressed at all meetings that Erich Honecker will participate in the celebrations of the 60th anniversary of the founding of Magnitogorsk. Again and again it was pointed out, that in the early thirties Erich Honecker had helped to build the metallurgical combine, and that he is virtually a citizen of Magnitogorsk." [passage omitted]

Tisch Receives Soviet TU Representative
AU2106192189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Fruitful Cooperation Will Be Further Developed"]

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—Harry Tisch, chairman of the National Executive Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB], and member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, received Valentin Makeyev, secretary of the Central Council of the Soviet trade union, for friendly talks in Rostock on Saturday [17 June]. Harry Tisch outlined the FDGB's work in the 40th year of the GDR, and stressed that the recent trade union and local elections have proved to be the GDR working people's clear declaration of support for their socialist home country. He praised the fruitful cooperation between the peoples, countries, and trade unions, which have been linked through fraternal relations, during the past 4 decades.

Valentin Makeyev briefed his host on the USSR trade unions' contribution to the successful conclusion of the Congress of the People's Deputies of the USSR, in which they were represented with 100 deputies endowed with the mandate of the trade unions.

On behalf of the Soviet trade unions, Valentin Makeyev repeated his thanks to the GDR working people for the solidarity and aid for overcoming the disastrous earthquake in Armenia. The interlocutors emphasized their firm determination to continue to make an efficient contribution toward bringing the two peoples closer together, and thus toward peace in the world by further shaping fraternal cooperation.

The talks were conducted in an open and cordial atmosphere of mutual understanding.

Tisch Greets South African Trade Unions
AU2006133389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "FDGB Letter"]

[Text] East Berlin—In a letter signed by Harry Tisch, chairman of the Central Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB], to the South African Confederation of Trade Unions (SATCU) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the FDGB has conveyed fraternal and militant greetings of solidarity on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity to the Working People and the People of South Africa.

Maleuda Receives Bulgarian Council Delegation

AU2106204189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Bulgarian Delegation Met With Executive Council of DBD"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Sunday [18 June], Guenther Maleuda, chairman of the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany [DBD], received a delegation of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, headed by Pando Vanchev, secretary of the Presidium of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, which is currently visiting the GDR at the invitation of the DBD Executive Council.

Pando Vanchev conveyed cordial greetings of Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and first deputy chairman of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which were reciprocated by Guenther Maleuda.

During the course of this meeting, which was held in a friendly atmosphere, Guenther Maleuda outlined the social activities that take place on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the GDR, and the many and various contributions in this respect by the DBD members toward shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR. The DBD is consistently supporting the strategy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany for a dynamic development of the economy aimed at making further social progress.

Pando Vanchev informed his host about the efforts for comprehensive renewal of socialist society in Bulgaria. Side by side with the Communists, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union is working with commitment toward the aspired restructuring, which is related with many challenges and problems.

Horst Dohlus Meets Romanian Party Delegation

AU2006111989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17-18 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Exchange of Experiences With Romanian Communists"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [16 June], Horst Dohlus, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], received a delegation of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], headed by Letitia Ionas, member of the RCP Central Committee and deputy head of the party organs Central Committee department, for a friendly talk.

Horst Dohlus briefed the guests about the work of the party organizations to implement the decisions of the seventh SED Central Committee session and in preparation for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR and the 12th SED Congress. He referred to the efforts of the GDR working people, which are aimed at making socialism on German soil even stronger and more attractive and at contributing to safeguarding peace. Horst Dohlus explained the tasks of the party to further raise the standard of its leadership activity and to increase its militant strength. The forthcoming exchange of the party documents and the resulting personal talks will also contribute to this.

Letitia Ionas reported on the work of the RCP in preparation for its 14th congress, which will take place this year. All efforts are aimed at ensuring a dynamic development of the national economy, and at further perfecting socialist democracy. The strengthening of the leading role of the party in all social areas is the indispensable basis for shaping socialism in Romania.

The two interlocutors concurrently paid tribute to the high level of relations between the SED and the RCP, and stressed the usefulness of the comprehensive exchange of views and experiences.

Horst Dohlus Receives Cambodian Delegation

AU2006112589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Cambodian Delegation Visits SED Central Committee"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin—Horst Dohlus, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], held a friendly meeting with a delegation from the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] headed by Men Sam An, Politburo member and head of the Committee for Organization and Cadres of the KPRP Central Committee.

Men Sam An conveyed cordial greetings from Heng Samrin, general secretary of the KPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Kampuchean State Council, to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, which were cordially reciprocated by Horst Dohlus on his behalf.

During the exchange of views, Horst Dohlus briefed the visitors on the implementation of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress. He explained how the communists and all working people are contributing with many and varied initiatives to comprehensively strengthen socialism and safeguard peace in preparation for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR and the 12th SED Congress. The unity of economic and social policy, the steady enhancement of the leading role of the party, its policy of alliance, and the firm and trusting cooperation between the party and the workers class and the whole people are indispensable elements of the SED's social strategy, Dohlus pointed out. [passage omitted]

Axen Receives Lebanese Socialist Official

AU2006074789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Lebanese Official Welcomed for Exchange of Views"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Wednesday [14 June], Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], received Sharif Fayad, first deputy chairman and general secretary of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon (PSP), for a friendly exchange of views.

Sharif Fayad reported on the efforts of the PSP to make a constructive contribution to ending the civil war, which has been going on for more than 13 years, and to normalizing the situation in Lebanon. For this purpose, a just balance of interests and agreement among all nationally-minded forces in Lebanon, and the end to any outside interference in Lebanon's domestic affairs are necessary. He referred, in particular, to the need for a joint struggle of all patriotic forces of the country for the liberation of the territories in southern Lebanon that are occupied by Israel. In this spirit, all national-patriotic forces of Lebanon welcome the recommendations of the Casablanca summit of Arab states.

Hermann Axen explained the latest initiatives and unilateral disarmament measures of the GDR, the USSR, and other socialist countries, which are aimed at making the change for the better in the international situation, irreversible. One must not permit a break in the disarmament process. He referred to the attempts of forces in Western countries that are inimical to detente, and are undermining the cause of peace, disarmament, and international cooperation by an intensified campaign of interference in the inner affairs of the socialist countries.

Both politicians agreed to further deepen the fraternal relations between the SED and the PSP.

Kleiber Receives Libyan Education Official

AU2006133189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Jun 89 p 4

[ADN report: "Libyan Minister Received For Talks"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin—Guenther Kleiber, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], received Minister Ma'tuq Muhammad Ma'tuq, secretary of the People's Committee for Vocational Training of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, for a friendly exchange of views on Thursday [15 June].

Guenther Kleiber briefed the Libyan visitor on the great commitment with which the citizens of the GDR are vigorously preparing for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. Looking to the future, the working people are facing up to the new challenges in further shaping the developed socialist society, and consistently implementing the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress in worthy preparation for the 12th SED Congress scheduled for May 1990.

Referring to international issues, Guenther Kleiber stressed the topicality and importance of the many and varied initiatives of the GDR and other Warsaw Pact states to promote the process of disarmament and detente. Both sides expressed concern over the fact that the disarmament process that has been initiated has repeatedly been disturbed by influential NATO circles.

Ma'tuq Muhammad Ma'tuq confirmed his country's course, which is particularly aimed at contributing to creating an atmosphere of trust and cooperation in the north African region and the Mediterranean. This is in keeping with the interests of the Libyan people who will celebrate the 20th anniversary of the victory of the 1 September revolution in a few weeks' time. [passage omitted]

Guenther Kleiber reaffirmed the GDR's readiness to further deepen bilateral relations and open up new fields of cooperation for the advantage of both sides, including, among other things, GDR support for the Arab country in the sphere of vocational training and the advanced training of Libyan cadres in the GDR. [passage omitted]

Kleiber Holds Talks With Cuban Official

AU2006170589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Cuban Official Visits GDR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] Guenther Kleiber, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], received Faustino Perez Hernandez, member of the Executive Committee of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, on Thursday [15 June].

Guenther Kleiber paid tribute to the high level of relations between the GDR and Cuba in all spheres of social life, and pointed out that there are good preconditions for strengthening and further developing collaboration. He briefed his visitor on the experiences and results in implementing the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress in realizing the unity of economic and social policy, and on the working people's many and varied initiatives in preparation for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR.

During its study visit to the GDR, the Cuban visitors familiarized themselves in Berlin and Frankfurt (Oder) Bezirk with the work of the local state organs in implementing socialist local policy. During their stay, they will

also hold an exchange of views at the Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence on the task of this teaching and research institution in providing basic and advanced training to leading cadres of local and central state organs.

Faustino Perez Hernandez briefed the Council of Ministers on the positive impressions that the delegation has received so far during their exchange of views, and on the efforts of the Cuban people in implementing the resolutions of the Third Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, aimed at further building socialism. Both sides stressed the usefulness of a broad exchange of experiences between fraternal countries, and referred to the positive results that have so far been achieved in the political, economic, scientific-technological, and cultural spheres.

The meeting was attended by Harry Moebius, state secretary at the GDR Council of Ministers, and Ramiro del Rio Perez-Teran, Cuban ambassador to the GDR.

Kessler, Swedish Defense Ministers Meet

LD2006181889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1655 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Defense Minister, Army General Heinz Kessler, and a delegation from the Swedish Defense Ministry, headed by Defense Minister Roine Carlsson, today [20 June], noted agreement on fundamental questions of securing peace for the people, and in particular on key questions of disarmament in the nuclear and conventional spheres.

During the meeting, the interlocutors praised the diverse cooperation and the good-neighborly relations between the GDR and the Kingdom of Sweden, through which the exchange of experiences between both armies consistently continue and constantly develop.

Army General Heinz Kessler described the visit to the GDR in January by the Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, during which Erich Honecker had announced unilateral reduction measures on the part of the GDR, as a milestone in the further development of peaceful bilateral cooperation. The GDR should continue in the future with its policy of result-oriented, businesslike dialogue, and cooperation with all forces willing to negotiate for the improvement of the international situation.

Minister Carlsson expressed his gratitude for the hospitality and also for the possibility of getting to know the GDR and its people more closely. He confirmed Sweden's interest in preserving and working toward peace on the European mainland and in the Atlantic Ocean area. Thus Sweden laid great emphasis on the Vienna negotiations on conventional disarmament, and on the confidence and security-building measures.

Earlier, Minister Carlsson had paid tribute to the victims of fascism and militarism, at the Unter den Linden memorial in Berlin.

Cooperation With French Enterprises Discussed

AU2006120189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Jun 89 p 6

[ADN report: "Meeting With Representatives of French Enterprises"]

[Text] Paris—An event designed to foster the expansion of economic cooperation between GDR enterprises and enterprises of the Midi-Pyreene region, organized by the Committee for the Promotion of Trade Between France and the GDR, attached to the French Entrepreneurs' Association, CNPF, was held in Toulouse on Thursday [15 June]. Foreign trade enterprises and combines from the GDR, as well as leading enterprises of the region, which has developed into a center of high technology in the spheres of aeronautical and space industry, microelectronics, as well as the chemical and pharmaceutical industry, particularly biotechnology, participated in the event.

During his stay, the head of the GDR delegation, Christian Meyer, deputy minister of foreign trade and chairman of the GDR side of the Committee for Promoting Trade Between the GDR and France, met with the prefect of the region, Jean Coussirou; the president of the Regional Council, Marc Censi; and the president of the Chamber of Industry and Trade, Robert Raffalli, and other figures. During the meetings, specific measures for the expansion of economic cooperation were discussed.

20 Persons Reported Arrested at Protest Rally

AU2106120189 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1100 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] GDR security forces in Leipzig have again detained about 20 persons who held a spontaneous protest rally after a church service. According to reports, a man who had protested against the crushing of the demonstrations in China had been led away yesterday evening [20 June], prior to this incident. Most of those detained were released again during the night.

Culture Minister Urges Exiled Writers To Return

TANJUG Cites Hoffman

LD2106134489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1109 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin, June 21 (TANJUG)—German Democratic Republic Culture Minister Hans-Joachim Hoffmann invited all writers, now living in the West, to return to the country, promising that no sanctions would be taken against them.

All those who want to come back can do so, and they will find "their place" in the GDR, Hoffmann said.

Hoffmann was speaking at an international gathering on cultural and humanitarian questions in East-West relations in Berlin.

Many GDR writers emigrated or went to the West through legal channels. They mainly went to the Federal Republic of Germany and stayed there.

Hoffmann said the GDR would take on a more liberal stand towards writers, adding that the existing strict criteria for book publishing would not be implemented. Book publishing will still be controlled because of certain "political implications" in that field.

Foreign observers in Berlin said Hoffmann's statement represented a change in the existing stand and a major libehralization in that field. Some writers might return, especially those who did not have major disagreements or clashes with the authorities.

The official GDR press did not report Hoffmann's statement.

FRG Paper on Hoffman Speech

AU2106132589 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 21 Jun 89 p 1

["bow" report: "Return to GDR Possible"]

[Text] Berlin—GDR Culture Minister Hans-Joachim Hoffmann has offered all writers who have left the GDR over the past few years the opportunity to return. "All those who want to come back will always find a place in our country," he stated, speaking to a study group of the Berlin Aspen Institute. The GDR will "not be resentful" toward those who return.

The GDR respects "the decision of the individual as far as possible," Hoffmann said. "If some writers want to write somewhere else for a time, they may do so." The state no longer thinks "that it owns the people"; this was perhaps the case in the 1950's and 1960's. In the meantime, it has been learned that "not all people are automatically born as socialists."

The minister admitted that "in very few exceptions" books by GDR writers are not published in the GDR. "In the future, too, we will not print everything," he said. "We say this in such a relatively shameless way, because for us the publication of books is a political act." The GDR's culture policy has to fulfill a "social duty."

Hoffmann emphatically rejected Western criticism of a lack of willingness for reforms in the GDR. In many cases the GDR feels that it is treated "very aggressively." Western advice as to how the GDR should carry out reforms is embarrassing. In the GDR, one gets the impression that "the GDR is supposed to be put in the place of the old enemy image of the Soviet Union." However, the GDR is not suited as a new enemy image. In the GDR, there are "enough people who want changes." The minister called for more "sensitivity" in dealing with the GDR. One can also wage war with words, he stated. It is "atrocious to accuse a government of being too old." It is the state's own business how it regenerates itself; there are other criteria besides biology.

New Megabit Computer Chip Facilities Developed

AU1906191289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Zeiss Starts Series Production of New Megabit Chip Facilities"]

[Text] Jena (ADN)—The Carl Zeiss Jena Combine plant for the construction of precision optical instruments has started the series production of AUeR 2 automatic overlap repeaters. The instruments are needed in the microelectronics industry to develop the production of monolithic memory circuits with an integration level of 1 megabit. Moreover, preliminary work for 4-megabit technology can be carried out with the AUeR 2. Overlap repeaters are considered to be equipment of decisive importance in the microlithographic production process which comprises approximately 450 technological steps to be carried out by approximately 70 different instruments.

The AUeR 2 optically transmits the complicated component structure of future circuits from a plate onto silicon dices. In this process, the structures are simultaneously decreased by four-fifths. In automatic operations, this process is repeated approximately 20 times per dice. With an image field of 16 by 16 millimeters, structures with a track width of only one-thousandth of a millimeter, for example, become possible. According to experts, the overlap accuracy from level to level is plus/minus one-thousandth of a millimeter.

MSZMP-Opposition Roundtable Talks Open 21 Jun

Agreement on Talks Published

AU1606131989 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Jun 89 p 5

[Agreement on holding a roundtable meeting signed on 10 June: "The Agreement"]

[Text]

I

The need to extricate ourselves from the political and economic crisis that affects our nation and to carry out a democratic reorganization of power relations in Hungary requires a dialogue among all the political groupings that share responsibility for our future. We can overcome this crisis and create a multiparty system only with the agreement of democratic forces. All this requires consideration of common interests and efforts, readiness for agreement of all the participants, confidence, and self-restraint.

Our nation's fate can improve by respecting the demands of a constitutional state and by firmly rejecting the use of force. It is in our common interest to solve social conflicts according to the generally accepted norms of European political behavior and on the basis of a consensus. Shifting from a one-party system to a representational democracy and establishing a constitutional state can be achieved by means of free elections. Representational bodies that function well and enjoy the people's confidence, as well as a firm and consistent government can avoid a further deterioriation in the prevailing social and economic crisis. A peaceful political transition, as well as the easing of accumulated economic and social tensions can only be achieved together, in an interdependence. A series of historical examples advise us that we can solve our common problems only by means of a consensus. Every social organization and movement should participate with equal rights in the difficult and contradictory process of restructuring.

On the basis of all these facts and connections, the organizations that make up the Opposition Roundtable, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], and the joint delegation of the Left-Wing Alternative Association, the Patriotic People's Front [PPF], the Hungarian Democratic Youth Federation, the Federation of Hungarian Anti-Fascists and Resistance Fighters, the National Council of Hungarian Women, the Ferenc Muennich Society, and the National Council of Hungarian Trade Unions [SZOT] express their readiness to begin genuine political negotiations. In connection with the talks, the negotiating partners of equal rights accept the following organizational principles:

—the basis of power lies in the people's sovereignty; no political force can monopolize this sovereignty, nor can it declare itself as the sole trustee of the people's will or drive to achieve an unconstitutional limitation of political rights;

—the public will should express itself without previous limitations and at free elections the results of which should be obligatory for all, and no constitutional political organizations should be excluded from these elections;

—the overcoming of crisis, the implementation of a democratic transition, and the solution to political conflicts can take place only by peaceful means free of violence; no social organization can have direct control over the Armed Forces;

—acknowledgement of and respect for the interests of our nation and of each other, as well as mutual confidence are important conditions for the success of constructive political negotiations;

—only mutually acceptable conditions can serve as the basis for cooperation and agreements;

—there should be no exclusion based on political considerations when determining the participants in the negotiations and the legal status of the sides involved in the negotiations; at the same time, the requirement of the ability to function should be taken into consideration;

—the talks aim at reaching political agreements to which the necessary draft government measures and regulations can be connected, as well as positions referring to the deadline of their appearance; however, the negotiations themselves do not have direct constitutional functions;

—during the negotiations, the participants will refrain from taking any unilateral steps that would thwart the goals of these negotiations; legislation cannot precede political agreements;

—all the participants will make their own organizations accept the political agreements and will also represent these agreements in public, and will also guarantee the implementation of these agreements by all the political means at their disposal.

II

1. Three negotiating partners will participate in working out the political agreements at the political coordination talks.

a) The Opposition Roundtable (The Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Friendship Society; The Federation of Young Democrats; The Independent Smallholders' Party; The Christian Democratic People's Party; The Hungarian Democratic Forum; The Hungarian People's Party; The Hungarian Social Democratic Party; The Federation of Free Democrats; and the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions as an observer;)

b) The MSZMP;

c) The following public organizations and movements: The Left-Wing Alternative Association; the PPF; the Hungarian Democratic Youth Federation; the Federation of Hungarian Anti-Fascists and Resistance Fighters; the National Council of Hungarian Women; the Ferenc Munich Society; and the SZOT.

All three sides participating in the talks have identical rights in shaping the consensus. Each side is represented by a spokesman who will express an opinion on behalf of the negotiating side he represents. The public organizations and movements listed under point c)—whose participation in the genuine talks was accepted in the preliminary talks by the Opposition Roundtable as a compromise proposal—say that they support the readiness of the MSZMP and the Opposition Roundtable to hold a constructive dialogue and their agreement, and the aforementioned organizations intend to become active participants in this process. The Opposition Roundtable itself will determine the size and composition of its delegation. The public organizations and movements listed under point c) will determine the methods of coordinating their views and representing their positions by themselves.

The representatives of the participating organizations have a written mandate that also includes their right to sign agreements. They will present this mandate to the chairman of the plenary session.

The fourth side of the negotiating table can be reserved for observers. These observers can present their occasional remarks in writing to the chairman of the session who will inform the negotiating partners.

2. The negotiating partners set the following agenda for the political coordination meeting:

—formulation of the principles and regulations aimed at implementing a democratic political transition;
—the strategic tasks of overcoming the economic and social crisis.

It is the task of the genuine talks to provide the final formulation of individual subject matters on the basis of interest.

3. The statute and working order of the political coordination meeting are the following:

a) The genuine talks are held in plenary sessions and in committees.

The opening plenary session will be held in the Vadasz-Hall of the Parliament Building on 13 June 1989.

The plenary session will be chaired by the chairman of the National Assembly.

The representatives of the three negotiating partners will have the same speech time at their disposal.

The negotiating partners will make declarations of intention at the opening plenary session. Following this session, they will create working committees.

b) The agreements will be prepared by the working committees created in accordance with the issues on the agenda. The principles referring to the plenary session should also be applied to the activity of the committees, in accordance with the sense of these principles. With the use of experts, individual working committees can also create subcommittees.

c) Government bodies will be included in the preparation of the draft regulations. A public debate on the draft regulations could also take place during the political coordination talks. The final documents will be adopted by the plenary session. The proposals formulated by the working committees can be submitted to the plenary session once these proposals are signed by the representatives of the negotiating partners. The delegation heads will sign the approved documents and will see to it that they are published. A protocol will be prepared on every meeting, and this protocol can be published in case of a break in the negotiations.

d) The decisionmaking process is based on the principles of mutual interest and consensus. If a difference of opinion prevails in some details and if, in the view of the negotiating partner in question, this does not affect the essence of the agreement, a consensus can emerge.

e) The plenary sessions will be open to the press. However, the working committees will work behind closed doors. The public should receive regular and genuine information about the talks. From time to time, the negotiating partners will issue joint communiques to MTI. A separate announcement will be made public only if the negotiations break up or if the participants fail to agree on a joint communique. However, this will not affect the right of the negotiating partners to make announcements about the substance of the issues on the agenda.

f) The negotiating sides regard it as necessary that the state budget cover the expenses connected with the talks. This can include the expenses of document preparation, photocopying, and mailing, the expenses of organization, as well as the fees of experts involved in the talks.

Budapest, 10 June 1989.

Grosz Interviewed Before Talks

AU2206101789 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 15 Jun 89 p 6

[Interview with MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz by Lovas: "Karoly Grosz on the Roundtable Talks—We Are Attacked From Left and Right...."—date, place not given]

[Text] Karoly Grosz gave an interview to our correspondent in connection with the roundtable talks. MTI has already published a shortened version of this interview, and now we publish the full text.

[Lovas] You have come to the roundtable talks from the meeting of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Politburo. What instructions did you get from your colleagues?

[Grosz] We agreed upon this earlier on the basis of experts' reports. Our delegation at the roundtable talks had three members because, during the preparatory talks, we decided that each side would be represented by 2-3 persons. The Central Committee decided on the MSZMP negotiating delegation, and, in fact, this is made up of five people....

[Lovas] Who were missing?

[Grosz] Rezso Nyers and Janos Berecz, but all the five members will participate at the next roundtable talks.

[Lovas] Is it true that there was a debate within the Politburo on who should speak on behalf of the MSZMP in the first roundtable meeting, and also on who should lead the delegation?

[Grosz] This is not true. Months ago, the Central Committee appointed the general secretary to lead the delegation. Such rumors are totally unfounded....

[Lovas] Obviously, you are also aware that Robert Ribanszky's Platform of Marxist Unity within the MSZMP is trying to attack the roundtable talks from the left. This platform regards the existence of this roundtable as a mistake of the current MSZMP leadership. What is your opinion about this?

[Grosz] We are attacked from both the left and right. Naturally, we are attacked because we are seeking new things and new solutions. I do not think that everyone could find his interests in this process of renewal.... Many people also condemned the Central Committee decision on a multiparty system in February. I am not at all surprised at this attitude.

[Lovas] The national roundtable should become a forum of national reconciliation. Many people feel that your statement at your latest speech in Gyor about an early stronger comeback of the MSZMP in public life is contradictory with the spirit of reconciliation. Many people felt the same fear as at the time of your speech in the Sports Hall in Budapest last year....

[Grosz] Do you know of any party which does not want to have a much greater role in public life? What kind of party is that? Such a party has no right to exist.... The MSZMP, which itself is also struggling with internal problems and conflicts, wants to solve the controversial questions prevailing in the party, and settle its ranks, if this is better.... It wants to participate in public life, observing fairness. If it did not want to play a part in public life, it had better be dissolved.

[Lovas] One of the organizers of the Budapest reform circles said that a good MSZMP negotiating delegation to the roundtable talks should include all the trends prevailing within the party. In your view, does the composition of this MSZMP delegation fulfill this requirement?

[Grosz] Under no circumstances, and it would not even be able to do so. This is not a matter of intentions. Today, it is still impossible to identify all the trends within the MSZMP. There are still ideas, rather than real trends in the MSZMP. These are half-prepared programs. Platforms emerge as a result of a longer-term process. Unfortunately, we have not yet come to this process. However, we would welcome a better configuration of platforms. A meeting here and there, and a passionately formulated thesis is not yet a platform. The 1 year that passed within the party has simply not been enough for various platforms to emerge. Perhaps one will see better organization in the platforms that will emerge by the time of the congress. But one could rather expect this in the period following the congress....

[Lovas] Rumors have it that the MSZMP congress will take place in September and elections in October.

[Grosz] I hope the party congress will be held in September. However, I do not believe in holding elections in October.... Concerning the elections, we should first agree with our partners. If I am right, our partners' positions on this issue are quite different. There are people who want immediate elections, and others want them only in the middle of 1990. The MSZMP has not made any decision on this issue, and I cannot say anything about this. As for the date of the MSZMP congress, the Central Committee will decide on this issue, presumably at its session on 23 June. The Politburo recommends the last days of September or the beginning of October at the latest.

Opposition Previews Roundtable

LD2106142289 Budapest MTI in English 1312 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 21 (MTI)—The second round of the political coordination talks will be held on Wednesday afternoon from 5 p.m. in the parliament building, with the participation of the delegations of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], the opposition roundtable and the so-called third side. Discussions have also been held during the past week following the first round of talks. A journalists from the independent daily "MAI NAP" (today) put questions on the progress of the discussions to Imre Konya, coordinator of the opposition round table, who submitted a message of intent during the first round of tlaks.

"Two working groups are being set up, and within these, additional sub-groups are likely to be formed. Therefore, all three delegations are due to present a political and

economic motion this afternoon. On behalf of the opposition roundtable, it will be presented by Gyorgy Szabad (member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum), and Ivan Peto (member of the Alliance of Free Democrats).

"The primary goal of the opposition round table is the formulation of legislation to ensure the political conditions for a democratic transition. These include the election law, regulation of the operating conditions of parties, (not through party laws), amendment of the constitution, and establishing conditions for the prevention of a roll-back by force. The opposition roundtable does not feel that parliament in its present form is suitable for carrying out legislation. At the same time, some paragraphs of the constitution must be changed at this stage. This is why we are proposing the amendment. We'll be discussing the de-politisation of the Armed Forces, disbanding the Workers' Militia and other armed units, the service regulation of armed bodies, and making public the civilians' right to carry arms. Other topics include the amendment of the penal code, and the new press and information bill. In our opinion, parliament cannot pass jurisdiction on these issues until we reach an agreement at our present discussions. This comes from the agreement we signed.

"Disagreement prevails between the HSWP and the opposition roundtable on the quesiton of the president of the republic and the new party law, to be included on the agenda of the forthcoming parliamentary session. We insist that these issues be debated by parliament.

"According to our standpoint, creating the political rules of the game is essential. We consider economic issues to be a government task", Mr Konya concluded in his interview to "MAI NAP".

Szuros Opens Roundtable

LD2106203289 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1457 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Address by National Assembly Speaker Matyas Szuros at the MSZMP-Opposition Roundtable second plenary session held in the Parliament building in Budapest—live]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Esteemed consulting parties! During the past weeks since the first plenary session the consulting parties' experts have agreed on the exact subject, the levels of talks, the dispatch of working committees, and the invitations to observers. I would like to outline the first topic. Within the framework of the genuine political talks, the task is to define the principles and rules serving the democratic political transition.

First: The topical themes of amendments to the constitution; the questions of the institution of president of the republic and that of the constitutional court.

Second: Legal regulation of the operation of political parties.

Third: Questions regarding the elections and the electoral laws.

Fourth: The principles of the amendment of the penal code and that of the penal procedure code.

Fifth: The questions of information, the new law on information.

Sixth: Establishment of the legal guarantees which exclude violent solutions.

Regarding the strategic task of overcoming the economic and social crisis:

First: The strategic questions of handling the economic crisis, indebtedness, inflation, change of structure, and so on.

Second: The social consequences and methods of handling of the economic crisis.

Third: The reform of ownership with special regard to the transformation of state property.

Fourth: Questions of land ownership and the law on producing cooperatives.

Five: Reform of the budget and the law on public finances.

Six: The elimination of the legal obstacles to the regulation regarding ventures, the right of competition and the regulations against monopoly.

The definition of further subquestions within certain topic spheres and refining the already adopted issues, if required by the procedure of the talks, is the committees' task.

Consultation on the above topics, following the next plenary session, will commence immediately. Regarding the urgency of the first, second, and third topics necessary for the political transition, all three parties consider it justified to speed up the work.

Regarding the second topic sphere, the talks are taking place at three levels: at the plenary session, which generally fulfills declamatory and political functions; in the two committees established according to the topic spheres, where there is the possibility to coordinate expert work and to solve disputed questions with political means; and in the working committees formed according to the themes which serve as a framework for expert work.

The two committees will be sent out today by the consulting delegations and at the same time, they will be authorized to form the working committees.

Regarding the third topic sphere, the parties confirm that they wish to open the plenary sessions to observers. At the same time, they consider it important to enforce the following viewpoints regarding the invitation of observers: The chairman of the plenary session accepts only an application from an actually operating organization, which has a published political platform, which operates as a national organization, and which is not represented by any of the consulting parties. So much for the agreement.

Esteemed consulting parties! Now we start the statements, in the first topic sphere, in connection with the definition of the principles and regulations to effect the democratic political transition.

First, Imre Pozsgay will speak. He was appointed by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to cover this subject.

Pozsgay Addresses Session

LD2106212189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1508 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Statement by MSZMP designated spokesman Imre Pozsgay at the MSZMP-Opposition Roundtable second plenary session held in the parliament building in Budapest—live]

[Text] Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. Representing the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], I can state with pleasure that as a result of talks held between experts, we can hold a plenary session, and at this plenary session we can attest that a joint intention is being manifested to advance our business and our matters.

The agreements outlined by our chairman authorize me to make this statement. I would also like to say in relation to the points quoted by our chairman, that the MSZMP, in accordance with the preliminary agreement, will abide by the agreement that there cannot be legislative actions until there is preliminary political agreement. Accordingly, and mentioning it as proof, offering it as a basis for trust, I note that we do not propose that the government submit to the National Assembly session to begin on 27 June the draft laws that are objected to.

I owe our esteemed negotiating partners this announcement, and I also wanted to propose this as a thesis calling for cooperation.

As regards the roles undertaken in the creation of a democratic Hungary, I would like to brief our negotiating partners on the MSZMP standpoint. We are endeavoring to create a political situation in which the political will stems from citizens, and in which this will is carried out within the credible institutions of a civil society, which are based on initiatives from below.

For this reason, in accordance with European political culture and the experiences of the 20th century, the MSZMP accepts as one of the forms, and as a suitable form for the expression of this citizens' will, an election system based on free elections, which expresses this citizens' will and intentions via the contesting of parties. The MSZMP draws all the conclusions from this, even those regarding its own political practice to date—mainly what was already said at the first talks—in the statement of intentions: That it is relinquishing the monopolistic method of exercising power that stems from the intertwining of the party-state and state-party, and also that in the spirit of the abovementioned politically pluralistic situation, among constitutionally institutionalized forms, it accepts a political contest to win over the citizens' goodwill on the basis of a good program that keeps the nation's interests in mind, as well as on the basis of a personnel policy that accords with this.

This is the most important political viewpoint and it can perhaps serve as a consensus for all of us. On the basis of this the MSZMP is also reexamining its own organization and it is placing itself in the service of these requirements. In accordance with and following from this approach, the MSZMP and the other parties are contesting rivals in the battle of platforms. At the same time, thes battle is a benefit for citizens, because under those conditions the people can freely express their will and can decide on their political intentions.

This type of configuration, as regards joint conduct, can only be based on patience and on mutual understanding, and it follows from this understanding that the MSZMP does not wish to make its own ideology and political endeavors a general social issue by means of force, or by using various institutions of coercion, but only through an election. At the same time, in this election the MSZMP expects and hopes that it will be able to declare its own social program and ideological-political ideas as freely as the other parties and movements in society. That is, I believe that important announcements on political intentions also entail consequences—let us hope appropriate consequences—regarding legislation and in planning the configuration of the state. In this respect, abiding consistently by the above-expressed principles, the MSZMP, from the viewpoint of the state configuration, considers the form of the constitutional state that has constitutional guarantees to be the most suitable form of state for a European Hungary at the end of the 20th century.

This form of constitutional state demands the passing of laws, naturally, and this legislation is now suffering a delay. Without the preparation of a constitution, an election law, a law on the form of state or on the president of the republic, and legal rules regulating the functioning of parties, this form of constitutional state cannot be achieved. The MSZMP senses the paradoxical nature of the situation. This task must be completed under conditions in which many people dispute the legitimacy of the legislative body whose mission it would be to pass these laws.

A resolution of this paradoxical situation is conceivable only here, at the negotiating table, and I would also like to state that we should not hamper legislative work. Legislation should be given a free passage, so that the country does not look ahead to the creation of a constitutional state with the hopelessness of paralysis and disintegration, but so that it hopes that the negotiating sides, which do not bear equal responsibility for the nation and the country, will reach agreement regarding the creation of a constitutional state and its establishment. Thus, in the matter of concrete draft laws, it is necessary for us to reach preliminary political agreement at the talks. Then, afterward, in the spirit of this agreement the government can submit the proposals to the National Assembly, trusting that parliament will accurately sense the political process taking place in the country, and that it will accept and enact into law the agreement reached at the negotiating table.

In conclusion, in the sequence of statements, I would like to say that the MSZMP naturally is not taking part in these talks blindly and uninformed. It knows that while it is resolutely moving its policy in this direction, hopefully irreversibly, there are forces functioning in the country for whom this process constitutes the appearance of anarchy, the disintegration of the established world that accords with their conception, and they insist on this world in which they grew up and to which they have bound their ideals, their commitment. In the spirit of tolerance, this must be viewed as one of the elements of open politics. At the same time, by virtue of its historical responsibility, it is the MSZMP that must struggle the most resolutely so that these forces cannot gain the political scope for our people to become the victims of political struggle. It is for the benefit of our people that we would like to decide this political struggle, which is expressed in free elections together with all of its consequences, without engendering a political or power vacuum, and in a transition which is directed according to the joint will of the negotiating sides, via parliament, the legislature.

Beyond the statement of intention which was delivered the other day, these are the things I felt it important to state here, now, as perhaps conditions for advancing and as points where it is possible to accept partnership and to ask for cooperation from our negotiating partners. Thank you, Mr Chairman.

Opposition Spokesman's Statement

LD2106215189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1520 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Statement by opposition spokesman Professor Gyorgy Szabad at the MSZMP-Opposition Roundtable second plenary session held in the parliament building in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] In the agreed upon agenda outlined by our chairman, Matyas Szuros, we now move along to consider not its debating order but its internal logic. So, to move in order of importance, we propose before all else the working out of a new electoral system. We think that the draft law to be prepared should on the one hand ensure that every voter is able to weigh up carefully and then is freely and in confidence able to decide, through whom and through which movement he wishes his interests and political will to be represented. On the other hand, the new electoral system based on agreement should ensure that every political party and organization that accepts the inviolability of the basic principles of representative democracy, and also denies the violent or fraudulent influencing of elections, should be able to put forward candidates with identical, democratic conditions, and be able to fight with lawful means, under identical conditions, for their election.

The proposal should ensure democratic order and fairness in holding the elections, counting the votes, and announcing the results.

Free elections also presuppose the necessity of amending the present constitution, as indicated by Matyas Szuros. Among other things we consider it unavoidable according to the decree of a draft law, to be worked out in the framework of the talks now commenced, that the tenet of the present constitution which establishes one-party hegemony be replaced by the legalization of a functioning multiparty system.

We note here that we expect the creation of laws on introducing the institution of the president of the Republic and the establishment of a Constitutional Court from the new parliament which will convene after the free elections. This does not in any way mean, however, that we are not ready to work out common principles in these present interparty talks, which, without the creation of finished products, could also help the future legislative work of the National Assembly in this sphere.

Third [as heard], we consider it necessary that the reintroduction of the multiparty system into our state law should be accompanied by the legal regulation of the political, legal, and material conditions of the establishment and operation of parties in such a way that those concerned should have been able to make undisturbed use of the potential ensured through this for at least 3 months before the elections which are to be held.

Also, we must have as a condition and guarantee that until and at the elections, every Hungarian citizen and every political organization operating legally is able to live freely with their rights. There must be reform—that is, a reform that harmonizes with the extension of political rights—of the Penal Code and the penal procedure law, which must extend to the cessation of the so-called police necessity measures, and the revision of the prevailing law on infringement of rules.

We consider it indispensable to create new laws on briefing and information in the interests of the voters being able to vote—not in a rush, but also armed to the extent possible against demogogic attempts at influence—for the real representatives of their recognized interests. [passage omitted]

We consider necessary the increased protection of personal rights, to also be extended in timely fashion to modern information systems.

Last but not least, also from the point of view of ensuring the freedom and democratization of elections, we consider it essential to create laws that exlude from public life even the possibility of the use of force. We see the guarantees of this in the precise specification of the sphere of influence and tasks of every armed force, particularly the state security organization; in the creation of the consitutional system of supervision with no loopholes, of their functioning; and in making every armed force party politically neutral. We consider justified an agreement on the question of the dissolution of the Workers' Guard and other armed auxiliary units. We consider that the right to bear arms, the service regulations of the armed forces, and the military penal code should be reviewed and amended as needed. [passage omitted]

The Opposition Roundtable notes with satisfaction according to the witness borne by the statement made just now by the minister of state, that the regime is ready to satisfy the demand of the 10 June interparty agreement according to which—I quote from the text of the agreement—during the time of the negotiations, the sides will not make any kind of unilateral step that would defeat the aim of the talks; legislation thus cannot precede political agreements. We are pleased all the more at this declaration now, for similar to the overwhelming majority of the nation, the organization and representatives present at the Opposition Roundtable consider the success of these talks to be very important. Therefore they consider that every possible hair-splitting must definitely be warded off in—we believe—accordance with the will of the majority of our people.

Roundup on Roundtable Session

LD2106221889 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Excerpts] [Presenter] Our colleagues have completed their roundup on the second plenary session of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]- Opposition Roundtable—this now follows. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] To whom will the land belong, to whom will the factories belong? These big issues, which concern the entire population, were discussed. Pal Ivanyi, speaking about the principles of the MSZMP's economic development concept, emphasized the equality of property forms, and he attested to the free development of individual property. He said it is a goal to develop the internal market, to strengthen market influences, and to eliminate the monopoly situation.

Ivan Petoe, spokesman for the Opposition Roundtable, then said they had originally wanted to hold talks only on issues regarding a peaceful transition in the political system. They do not see that there can be guarantees for economic development as long as the political guarantees have not been created. The fact that they after all are holding talks on economic issues is because, in his words, the political leadership has adopted laws that are targeted at salvaging the current property structure.

After the break, there were brief reactions to the statements that had been delivered. At first, Imre Pozsgay spoke, and he emphasized that the committees to be established will not be further bureaucratic office-like discussion bodies, but they will constitute an important political factor in the current situation. Pal Ivanyi, who also spoke on behalf of the MSZMP, acknowledged that there are great problems in the economic system, but he also noted: The negotiating partners should not forget that this economy in the final analysis is fulfilling its international obligations. He also pointed out that the negotiating representatives of the Opposition Roundtable will naturally regularly receive the most recent statistics from the Central Statistics Office concerning the Hungarian economy.

Two people also spoke on behalf of the Opposition Roundtable. Gyorgy Szabad indicated that there will be much debate during detailed discussions, but that now he would speak, rather, about indications of agreement. He noted with pleasure the promise that harmony will be created between the current legislative work and the talks of the national roundtable. He said their stands are close regarding the constitutional court and the issues of the party law. In his view, the multiparty system should be declared as soon as possible, even by constitutional amendment.

Ivan Petoe also pointed out that the emphasis should not be placed now on differences of viewpoint. He also thinks that the readiness for compromise necessary for the talks is present, with good intentions, on every side. He proposed that the economic and political talks be technically separated, so that if the one—for example—the economic talks, were to be protracted, this would not hamper the more rapid progress of the political talks.

Roundtable Session Ends

LD2106222189 Budapest MTI in English 1811 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, May 21 (MTI)—The second round of the political reconciliatory talks ended in the parliament building Wednesday evening. In his closing address, Chairman Matyas Szuros stressed that the talks were marked by the goodwill of the participants and their

responsibility for the fate of the nation. Mr Szuros announced that the date of the next plenary meeting would be specified at the specialists meeting.

Participants Comment on Proceedings

LD2106222889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Summary] Following the roundtable talks today, at which economic questions were also discussed, Budapest radio interviewed a member from each side on this issue.

Pal Ivanyi, for the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], said that the economy is in crisis and a solution can be found through thinking about the problems together. The willingness for this was unequivocal from all sides at the talks today. The solution must be found, and the planning of a peaceful transition on the political side is very important, as well as soberness and mutual tolerance. The crisis which we are living through must not deepen, we must extricate ourselves from this situation. Expert negotiations will certainly be beneficial.

Ivan Petoe, for the Opposition Roundtable, said that there had been legislation continually put before the National Assembly which deals with the economy, and thus Hungarian development in the long term. No political organization, or the wide mass of the population had a say in this. He mentions primarily the law on change in ownership status. Many other laws are under preparation. They felt that somehow another stand, apart from that of those in power, should somehow be represented too.

They had originally not wanted to talk about economic matters, but are willing to do so because they felt the population did not understand why those in power did not want to discuss the economy; thus their stand could be misunderstood. They will try not to get embroiled in the consequences of the economic crisis, but to represent the social points of view as much as possible in these talks.

The third consideration was that they felt these talks to be so important that it would not have been worth it, because of a rigid exclusion of economic subjects, to halt these talks.

Laszlo Sandor, for the third side, said that he agreed with the spokesman for the Opposition Roundtable that those elements which link them all and which increase confidence must be strengthened. In the evaluation of the past, in formulating a diagnosis, his view is that there is almost complete agreement, with different emphases. He says the working groups should be formed as soon as possible and the experts should crystallize the standpoints through debate.

Further Comments on Session

LD2206043989 Budapest MTI in English 2157 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 21 (MTI)—After the second plenary session of the political reconciliatory talks, some participants were interviewed by MTI.

Asked about the expected reaction of the MPs to the agreement on removing some bills from the agenda of the June session, Matyas Szuros, speaker of parliament, said that he trusts in the understanding of the deputies. The current talks are closely connected with the process of democratization whose promotion is a common interest, he said.

Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Political Committee and minister of state, said that in the experts' talks there was a debate over the interpretation of a paragraph concerning legislation. Finally the sides agreed that none of the crucial bills could be presented to parliament without a preliminary agreement by the negotiating parties. This means that none of the negotiating partners would make any unilateral initiative violating the agreements either in parliament or elsewhere.

Istvan Huszar, presiding general secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, made an optimistic statement on behalf of the third side. He said it was a pleasant surprise that all negotiating partners displayed tolerance and accepted the positions formulated in the experts' talks. The parties did not set rigid conditions for one another, there were no ultimatums, all sides were prepared to negotiate, and agreement was reached on the most important issues.

Balint Magyar, procurator of the Alliance of Free Democrats and an ORT [Opposition Roundtable] representative, said that plenary session on Wednesday and the previous agreements can be regarded as a turning-point in the political relationship between those in power and the opposition. He pointed out that it seems that, for the first time, the government wishes to make a sacrifice to bring the unrestrained process of legislation into harmony with the course of political reconciliatory talks.

Hungarian TV Chairman Meets Opposition Roundtable

LD2006202489 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Text] This afternoon Gyula Bereczky, chairman of Hungarian Television, met the members of the special television committee of the organizations grouped in the opposition roundtable. The subject of the consultation was the televising of the Hungarian political opposition activities. This was the first meeting between Hungarian Television and the Opposition Roundtable.

MTI Interviews Nemeth on Imre Nagy Funeral

LD2106214689 Budapest MTI in English 1812 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 21 (MTI)—Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth has given the following interview to the Hungarian news agency:

Q: On the day of national mourning you said: "Covering various roads we've come to the catafalque from different directions. It would be a good idea if we could advance together." How do you see the prospects of common advance a few days after the funeral?

A: The prospects are still uncertain but more hopeful. On June 16, the Hungarian people, reflecting on its past, paid final tribute to Imre Nagy and his martyred associates and commemorated a great tragedy of our national history in a manner worthy of a European nation. The funeral ceremonies took place peacefully and in exemplary order. the conduct of people attending the events and the majority of funeral addresses proved to me that Hungarian society wished to have a clear picture of its history, pay tribute to its martyrs and transform passions into reconciliation. All this is encouraging from the aspect that the bumpy road of peaceful transition to democratic society is not blocked by the lashing of feelings to extremities. I see that even if some manifestations reflect another approach, that regarding itself as the possessor of exclusive truth did not tolerate and was impatient with other opinions and views, it is one we have to surpass by creating real democracy. In any case, those who took an active part in the preparation and discipined organization of the event deserve credit.

Q: What do you think is the importance of June 16?

A: It helped to put an end to a painfully unsettled period of our recent history. Facing our past bravely, we can look to the future with our mind at ease and calmly continue our work. I think the day proved our people's political maturity for creating a democratic society. It brought us closer to national reconciliation although I am aware that we still have a long road to cover towards consensus.

It strengthened my conviction that we will be able to cover the road towards a socialist society respecting our national conditions and founded on the values of democracy and humanism. Our further advance requires patience, self-restraint and abstention from blustering phrases that inspire fear. Instead of indulging in reveries of the past and instead of self-mortification that paralyses action, we should take stock of our tasks and look to the future. It did not point to this direction, however, that some people used the event for extreme anti-communist and anti-Soviet manifestations. This evokes justified but incalculable passions within the country, and creates an opportunity for those beyond our borders who disapprove of our historic experiment, to express their indignation.

Q: The world press carried different opinions and assessments on June 16. How do you evaluate the foreign reaction?

A: Most press reports were objective in both the East and the West. We have to express our thanks to all who covered the events realistically and objectively, reflecting their various views. There were some disapproving and condemnatory foreign opinions. This stems partly from the fact that those who aired these views expressed their reservations before the events. Their disapproval, however, can mainly be explained by the fact that the speakers commemorated the events from different aspects and different platforms, with varying passions and emotions so the opinions could be selected and emphasized in various ways. This sometimes led to one-sidedness and some observers even heard things from the speeches that were not said. We regard the evaluation of the various chapters of our history as an internal affair as other countries that rightly protect their self-respect. We cannot and do not want to hand over the related responsibility to others. The sensibility of the neighbouring countries, however, can be understood since the popular uprising of 1956 had direct international implications and consequences and it cannot be denied that what is taking place in Hungary has little international effect [as received]. We ld it natural that the various countries give different evaluations to the Hungarian events of 1956 and consider it their internal affair.

Q: On the eve of the funeral, there was a demonstration in front of the Soviet Embassy. At the funeral ceremony, some speakers demanded the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops. What is your opinion of such manifestations?

A: I am convinced that these manifestations reflect the opinion of a particularly narrow minority in the varied Hungarian society of our days, and do not have a mass basis. People who do not make a distinction between the Soviet reform policy of today and the Soviet great-power policy of the 1950s evidence a complete lack of historical knowledge and sense of political reality. The political reforms under way in the Soviet Union are indispensable international conditions for the success of endeavours for democratic socialism. I am convinced that a good relationship between the Soviet Union and Hungary relies on such stable foundations that cannot be disturbed by irresponsible manifestations. Good Hungarian-Soviet relations are a condition of constructing a democratic socialist society and renewal in keeping with national conditions. Any denigration of Hungarian-Soviet relations runs counter to our national interests. Our openness and Western relations, which have developed dynamically in the recent period, are also based on the solid foundation of settled Hungarian-Soviet relations. Advancing on this road, we wish to develop our cooperation with the other neighbouring countries in a similar spirit. Better knowledge of one another's intentions and endeavours would be welcome as they would be the best guarantee of preventing eventual misunderstandings. All of us would benefit from better mutual knowledge and understanding and reciprocal tolerance. It lies in our

fundamental interest to create and continuously foster settled relations with the neighbouring countries, and to develop ties that also have a favourable influence on our internal development. Such an aim is not facilitated by either the extremist domestic manifestations or by the provocative prefabricated actions that are overt interferences with our internal affairs. Both the leadership and the sober-minded general public of Hungary dissociated themselves from the irreverent political demagogy.

Q: Finally, can the nation proceed together after June 16?

A: There are not yet any guarantees but a painful spasm rooted in our past has been pacified. This creates a possibility for us to devote more energy to the construction of a common future. National reconciliation cannot be based on anything else but a sincerely admitted past and the facing of current realities. The near future will raise several questions that can only be solved through consensus, with common effort. For that reason, we have to evidence day by day our readiness to debate, and mutual patience, observance of the rules of democracy that are binding on all sides, and giving priority to the interests of the nation. When I see that, I will have grounds for optimism, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth said.

Premier Nemeth's Statement on Funeral Day

AU2106201089 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 16 Jun 89 p 1

[Article by Premier Miklos Nemeth: "It Would Be Good To Advance Together"]

[Text] First as a child, and later as a young man, my generation could view Imre Nagy only through a dense blanket of fog. The passion for reality and truth in the university years repeatedly stumbled on unanswered questions. My image of Imre Nagy emerged from books received from friends and from debates going well into the night, and for me, Imre Nagy already represented many values but also unsolvable contradictions.

Patience was not something characteristic of the age in which he lived. At that time, people often killed, and only rarely buried the dead respectfully.

He was open to the variety of the world and of human life, and this was of special value, considering the obscurity forced on the society that surrounded him. He did not run rebelliously against the wall, nor did he pale together with the crawling mediocrity. He gathered and absorbed information and followed the road set out by his peasant ancestors with the stubborn belief of a 20the century scientist-politician.

The attitude of a cork-politician [parafapolitikus] without self-importance who pays attention only to the moment and reacts to the moment was not characteristic of him. Although his fate threw him into the most unexpected situations with fantastic changes, this fate could not push him into a position in which he could not continue to establish himself. He was able to plan ahead. This ability characterized his attitude and this ability often made him reach compromises that pointed ahead.

He appreciated the chances and results of small steps, something often underestimated by others. He tried every angle to find out ways of improving the existing social model. His many attempts made him sensitive and prepared to act immediately when the opportunity of a greater step emerged in 1956.

Today we are burying an outstanding Hungarian whose career—like that of so many great Hungarians—inexcusably broke into two. Like the ocean in a drop of water, the fate of the nation is reflected in the tragedy of their fate.

Imre Nagy, the reformer trying to serve the people, wanted to fight with the people for the people. He knew that there was no ideal worth ruining the people for, and there was no goal that would justify such injustice and unlawfulness. There is no nation that would tolerate this for long.

Imre Nagy's life and death is a political martyrdom. The life of martyrs has always been an example and a lesson, an example of the immortality of a moral stand, the need to defend people who are able and willing to accept themselves, and of the inadmissibility of spiritual and physical violence and mercilessness.

His example shows us that there is no other standard but work and honesty, living by not accepting external and humiliating orders, but considering the facts and the problems and comparing them with one's internal spiritual and moral world: To remain alive and prepare by getting rid of the trash and preserving and increasing real values.

Imre Nagy was led by internal values. That is why he was able to hand over the intellectual and moral values of his life to us and to the next generation. That is why he continues to live within ourselves.

With his last decision, from his own will, he preferred the irreversible break to bowing. This is how his broken life has become an example.

The burial of Imre Nagy and his followers in the struggle will anyway be a symbol in Hungarian history. As to the content of this symbol, this depends on us. Our everyday actions could make this day the symbol of national and historical justice, national reconciliation, and of general consensus. However, people who are inciting discord, anarchy, and hatred and who are stirring religious war instincts and passions could distort the message of his life.

We need a domestic reconciliation because only this way can we hope for a social and national reconciliation. This cannot be done by replacing the rehabilitated people

with others in the box of the accused. The cleansing of the condemned should not result in the condemnation of others. If so, the historical justice pours oil on fire, instead of bringing an olive branch.

This day could even be a turning point in the Hungarian history.

In the current Hungarian situation, we can be both winners or losers only together.

If we unite, we can win. If we turn against each other, or against somebody else, we will all be losers. We have a chance to win only if we uncover crimes in order to avoid committing them again, and not in order to condemn.

We are approaching the catafalque from different sides and coming from different roads. It would be a good thing to advance together.

Soviet Ambassador Comments on Nagy Funeral

LD2106211789 Budapest MTI in English
2000 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 21 (MTI)—It is beyond doubt that the Congress of People's Deputies strengthened the guarantees of the irreversibility of the political processes under way in the Soviet Union, Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary, stated at a press conference on Wednesday.

A correspondent of MTI asked the ambassador about the funeral of Imre Nagy and his martyred associates, the speeches delivered at the funeral, and the demonstration held before the embassy on the eve of the funeral.

According to Mr Stukalin, the funderal was an internal affair of Hungary, it is needless for the Soviet Union to evaluate it. He emphasized, however that "the statements made at Heroes' Square and at the demonstration on the previous evening did not escape our attention. In our view, some statements were anti-Soviet and anti-communist. But we do not find any identity between these manifestations and the official Hungarian standpoints and the position of the general public. We hold the view that these statements did not reflect the position of Hungarian society," the Soviet ambassador emphasized.

Council of Ministers Session Reviewed

LD1606083889 Budapest MTI in English
1726 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 15 (MTI)—At its session on Thursday, the government was briefed on the preparations for the funeral of Imre Nagy and his associates, said Zsolt Bajnok, editor-in-chief of the daily MAGYAR HIRLAP and acting spokesman, at a press conference following the session. Accordingly, the order of the ceremony and the reverential demonstration will be ensured by an organizing staff about 3,500. The police organs will participate in traffic control and the ensurance of traffic order.

The government discussed the setting up of receiving stations. At present, some 15,000 refugees from Romania are in Hungary, therefore the government holds it its characteristic obligation to see to their accommodation, the settlement of their legal status, and their social adaption. In this spirit, facilities are expected to be created this year in Hajduszoboszlo and Bekescsaba, for 150 to 300 refugees, and in Bicske for 400 refugees who do not belong to the Hungarian minority and who do not have lasting accommodation and work possibilities.

At its session on Thursday, the Council of Ministers heard a report on the renewal of the CMEA relations, and on updating Hungarian-Soviet accounting.

The Council of Ministers framed a decree on civilian service, in accordance with the proposed amendment of the defence law.

The government reviewed the operation of the workers' militia. Amending an earlier Council of Ministers resolution that set down the dual direction of the workers' militia, the government decided that the body will be placed under the direction of the Council of Ministers. It simultaneously commissioned an inter-ministry committee to work out, by the end of the year, the tasks adapting to the new solution.

The Council of Ministers proposes the Presidential Council to cancel the earlier decree of legal force on the state office for youth and sport, and the elimination of state consent to fulfil various church positions, and the elimination of the state office for church affairs. The government passed a resolution to set up receiving stations for refugees.

At the international press conference held following the session, Zsolt Bajnok, editor-in-chief of the daily MAGYAR HIRLAP and acting spokesman, said, among others: The Council of Ministers reviewed the preparation of the Hungarian delegation for the 45th session of the CMEA, which is to be shortly held in Sofia. The Hungarian delegation will be led by Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth. The main aim of the conference is for participants to discuss the issues of principle of diverse economic cooperation carried out in the CMEA, socialist economic integration and transformation of the CMEA's activity. The Hungarian delegation hopes that the sides will approve the programme of measures until the year 1995. The substance of the Hungarian position is that we are interested in intensifying economic and trade relations that adapt to the international market conditions, in the switch to a new market model, Mr Bajnok said. The government expressed its conviction that the renewal and modernization of the CMEA's operation, on

the basis of which the entire organization of the CMEA is expected to more efficiently promote successful cooperation, is vital for the country.

At its recent session, parliament commissioned the Council of Ministers to work out measures to reduce the state budgetary expenditures. This austerity package plan includes a sum of some 30,000 million forints. However, savings of a further 5,000 million forints should be attained in the interests of improving the 1989 budgetary balance situation. The minister of finance submitted to government the new programme. Mr Bajnok mentioned as one of its major items that defence subsidies will be cut by a further 600 million forints, the payments obligations increased by 400 million forints. Another item is that the international expenditures of the budget should be moderated by a further 1,000 million forints.

Colonel-General Lajos Morocz, secretary of state at the Ministry of Defence, reported that the agenda of the government session included a report on civilian service. The reporter of Hungarian radio asked about the activity of the Army on Friday. Mr Morocz said that the People's Army will carry out training, as Friday is a regular training day.

The correspondent of the American NBC Television company asked whether the longer than originally planned visit of U.S. President George Bush was discussed at the session of the Hungarian Government. Mr Bajnok said the theme was not on the agenda, however, governmental circles welcome that the visit will be twice as long as planned. The Council of Ministers looks on this fact as indication from the part of the United States of the importance of contacts between the two countries. It was also reported: The government has received indications that the most favoured nation principle will be granted to Hungary in the future for five years, instead of one, and the Council of Ministers evaluated this fact as a positive and promising intention.

Grosz Receives Indian Foreign Affairs Official

LD2006174789 Budapest MTI in English 1658 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 20 (MTI)—On Tuesday, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, met Natwar Singh, minister of state for foreign affairs of India. Mr Singh conveyed the good wishes of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and, on his behalf, reconfirmed that the Indian leadership would welcome Karoly Grosz on an official visit to India.

Medgyessy Receives Natwar Singh

BK2106134889 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0830 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] India and Hungary have emphasized the need for greater and closer cooperation in every field. This emerged during the talks the minister of state for external affairs, Mr Natwar Singh, had with the Hungarian deputy prime minister, Mr Peter Medgyessy, in Budapest yesterday. The two sides reviewed the bilateral relations with special attention to the expansion since the Prime Minister Mr Rajiv Gandhi's visit to that country last year.

GDR Citizens Take Refuge in FRG Budapest Embassy

AU2106114489 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 21 Jun 89 p 2

[AFP report: "Four GDR Citizens Flee to FRG Embassy"]

[Text] Vienna—Four GDR citizens, among them one woman, have taken refuge in the FRG Embassy in Budapest. This was reported by the fiance of the woman, a 23-old Austrian student. According to him, the group has applied for political asylum in the FRG in the embassy. However, a spokesman of the FRG Embassy in Budapest refused to comment.

Tamas Beck Stresses Need for Foreign Investment

AU2006132989 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 20 Jun 89 p 12

[Interview with Hungarian Trade Minister Tamas Beck by Hans Martin Koelle: "Hungary Needs Capital To Breathe"; date, place not given]

[Text] [Koelle] Mr Beck, 1988 was an unsatisfactory year for Hungary with slow economic growth and declining real income. The prospects for this year are not much better: Stagnation prevails, but despite this fact, Hungary wants to continue to push reforms toward market economy. How do you assess the situation?

Beck: You are right. The first quarter of the year was not very promising. The situation in industrial production is a little better. However, we are having great problems with technical development, which in turn affects production. We need foreign capital.

[Koelle] What sums do you have in mind?

Beck: I see it this way: According to my estimate, the total value of all the Hungarian industrial plants amounts to $20-25 billion. We would need $2-3 billion annually for structural changes and the modernization of these plants; most of it would be needed for the import of machinery. A large part of this sum would have to be provided by foreign investors.

[Koelle] This is an enormous sum if one bears in mind that the doubling of the import of machinery to $1 billion, which is planned for this year, is considered hardly feasible. Is this realistic?

Beck: Yes, it is, for two reasons: First, our exports have been developing very well this year, which makes it possible for us to expand our import potential. Second, we have only started with foreign investment. Many small firms have so far been active in Hungary. We are

still waiting for large-scale investments. Over the past 17 years, a total of $300 million have been invested by foreigners in Hungary under the old rules. Turkey, by contrast, receives $1 billion foreign capital every year. Why should we not reach this level? We have adopted new laws and created a better atmosphere for foreign investors, including laws on the form of enterprises and foreign participation, as well as on the conversion of state-owned enterprises under private law. Tax rates for joint ventures are also favorable, and profits can be fully repatriated.

[Koelle] What prospects open up for Hungary after the events in China, where economic reforms were carried out for a long time—until last year—without allowing democratization?

Beck: China will not have an impact on our country. We have embarked upon the path toward pluralism, because pluralism is necessary to achieve a higher economic level. Political development is running smoothly in Hungary. Of course, there are protests from those affected by the changes. This cannot be avoided during structural reforms. However, we did not expect to get thousands of unemployed. The government must strengthen its social network: However, it must not only provide unemployment benefits, it must also provide help in training people for new jobs and providing the basis for a secure existence.

[Koelle] Allowing ailing state enterprises to become bankrupt could be part of the structural changes. Official sources in Budapest have also been reported as saying that not sufficient bankruptcies are taking place. Prime Minister Nemeth has even submitted a list of bankrupt enterprises. What do you think?

Beck: My knowledge is based on experience, not on books. It is true that the large state monopolies in trade and industry must be split and subject to the same laws as the other ones. However, one must bear in mind that part of the production disappears as well in cases of bankruptcy. Where will these products come from? Should they be imported? If we did not suffer from a lack of foreign currency, and if we had a larger and more diversified economy, it would be easier to make up for production losses and allow the ailing enterprises to go bankrupt.

[Koelle] Abroad, you are considered Hungary's number one salesman. How do you see your role?

Beck: Economic diplomacy is a decisive factor at a time when Hungary is sending mixed signals abroad, as is the case now: There is a new political beginning on the one hand, and economic imbalance and ambitious reform projects on the other. What we have to do now is to visit fairs, make speeches, make contact wherever possible, and initiate business deals. We have prepared a list of 50 enterprises from all branches of the Hungarian industry that seek foreign participation. From the FRG, Korff is interested in metallurgical plants, Claas in the construction of agricultural machines, and Rodenstock in optics. BMW has employed 450 Hungarian workers who can acquire know-how there. I have good contacts with the FRG Government, with Minister Presidents Streibl, Spaeth, and Albrecht, and with the large associations. We expect more idle capital from the FRG, our largest partner in the West.

[Koelle] What are Hungary's strong points in this respect?

Beck: We are situated between East and West, we have an efficient infrastructure and qualified workers. For the time being, the Hungarian producers still have to increase their efficiency considerably. However, we have already become competitive in the spheres of power plants, chemicals, agricultural machinery, food, and vehicles, particularly concerning buses, and succeeded in increasing our exports. Hungary has a population of 10 million, and our exports to hard-currency countries amount to about $6 billion per year. Finland, however, with its 5 million inhabitants, exports goods worth $20 billion a year. Why should we not achieve this level?

Party Official Sees Membership 'Pointless'

LD1906163689 Budapest MTI in English 1529 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 19 (MTI)—Dr Florian Kovats, member of the Central Control Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] and the Zalaegerszeg Town Committee, has announced that he wishes to give up his party membership along with all his functions.

Dr Kovats, who became a member of the HSWP twenty years ago, said the following in explanation: "It is pointless remaining a member of the party and trying to reform it from within. It is my conviction that upholding party continuity and unity amounts to another attempt at defrauding Hungarian society".

Party Politburo Meets, Discusses Elections
LD2206085489 Warsaw PAP in English
0007 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 21—PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Political Bureau on June 20 discussed the results of the elections and the arrangement of political forces which shows up in the National Assembly. The bureau mapped out directions of party activities for the coming period, especially the preparations for the 13th plenary meeting of the Central Committee.

On June 4 and 18, this year, Polish citizens elected the Sejm and Senate. Structures of a state of socialist parliamentary democracy are taking place. The party, following the resolution of the Central Committee's 10th plenary meeting, acts and will continue acting in line with the decisions of the round table, in the spirit of dialogue, agreement, and extensive reforming changes in the political, social, and—what is particularly important—economic life.

The opposition has won a strong representation in the parliament and by this a considerable influence on the policy of the state. Wojciech Jaruzelski's proposal to make a broad, reform-oriented coalition is still valid. Only continuation of the line of reforms, a consistent implementation of the resolution of the 10th CC plenary may ensure the reconstruction of social influence for the PUWP. This is how the Political Bureau understands the support of those citizens who voted for candidates of the PUWP and the coalition and it is determined to act in this spirit in future.

The bureau acquainted itself with the situation in the consumer market and voiced concern about the living conditions of Polish families. The bureau asked the government to start necessary measures to stabilise the market.

The Political Bureau discussed programmatic and organisational guidelines for the marking of the 45th anniversary of People's Poland and found it right to ask respective acceptance and resolution from the 13th CC plenary meeting.

At the same time, the bureau pointed to the historically documented attainments of the Polish nation in the past 45 years and drew attention to the fact that some circles approach it from one point of view and in a simplified manner. The history of People's Poland are often described as only a sequence of blunders, distortions, and crises. These are shallow evaluations, remote from reality, wrongful to millions of working people, diminishing their mammoth effort.

The Political Bureau acquainted itself with the results of work of the organisational committee of the marking of the 50th anniversary of Nazi Germany's invasion of Poland and the outbreak of World War 2. It said that the submitted programme of ceremonies universally and in a dignified manner commemorates this anniversary, so tragically recorded in Polish history.

The bureau also acquainted itself with a report on the working visits by President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski to Belgium and the United Kingdom and on the official visit of French President Francois Mitterrand to Poland. The Bureau highly evaluated the course of these visits and approved the resulting decisions.

The visits have confirmed the positive attitude of Poland's Western partners towards the Polish changes and their readiness to back up the course for reforms on the road of developing mutually beneficial cooperation in all fields.

The bureau was pleased to note that all these visits had added to the consolidation and elevation of the position and role of Poland in Europe and the world.

Jaruzelski Answers Questions After Voting
AU2106131489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
19 Jun 89 p 1

[PAP report: "Wojciech Jaruzelski Voted"]

[Text] Several minutes before 1000 on Sunday, 18 June, Wojciech Jaruzelski and his wife Barbara cast their votes at the premises of the District Election Commission No. 10.

Just as they did 2 weeks ago, Polish and foreign correspondents came along to ask the State Council chairman questions.

Answering one of them, W. Jaruzelski said: I think the situation will become clearer after this round. Our parliamentary activity should lead to the emergence of a kind of grand coalition. Perhaps that is not quite the right way to describe it. What I mean is a coalition of consensus on the subject of Poland's most important affairs.

Another question was: Do you not regret the idea of expanding democratic liberties, which are now complicating the situation?

I am consistent, W. Jaruzelski replied. I believe this decision involved a certain risk. Nevertheless it was a risk contained within the framework of the "round-table," a framework calling for a development toward an enhancement of democracy and guarantees of essential national stability.

Can one govern by means of consensus in this difficult situation? was the next question.

That depends on the maturity of all the partners, W. Jaruzelski replied. I think everyone will realize the situation and the need to overcome it by means of consensus. If any partner fails to realize this need, the situation might indeed become dangerous. However, on the basis of experience so far and the restraint and responsibility displayed by society, I believe we will succeed in establishing this consensus.

In reply to the next question, W. Jaruzelski said that the method of consensus must be reconciled with a strong government, otherwise there is no question of implementing the reforms of which everyone is in favor. Consensus will be a litmus paper showing what each party to the coalition, plus the opposition, really think of the reforms. We are at a stage where there are several options open to us. I do not want to forestall events, but I think it is important that we are talking. There are already certain forms of contact between the government side and the opposition. W. Jaruzelski mentioned the Saturday meeting of economists as an example.

Asked what the party should do to win greater support, W. Jaruzelski expressed the conviction that the party has embarked upon a path that will gradually make it more credible in the eyes of society as the propelling force behind the reforms. There was not enough time between the 10th Plenum and the elections for the party to fully reveal itself in such a role.

I believe, W. Jaruzelski said, that the further course of events, the party's honesty, and the consistency it displayed during the "roundtable" and elections all clearly prove that the party remains the force that inspires Poland's development, implementing reforms which consolidate socialism in our country.

Speaking about cooperation within the coalition, W. Jaruzelski said that we have many years of good and bad experience in this cooperation. We are drawing the appropriate conclusions. However, he said, I believe we can find a platform where coalition cooperation will be useful and fruitful.

The journalists asked Wojciech Jaruzelski what he thought of the visit by French President Francois Mitterrand.

The visit proceeded very well and brought useful results, W. Jaruzelski replied. It revealed both countries understanding of each other and determination to expand mutual relations. This is confirmed by the latest French decisions concerning financial-credits policy vis-a-vis Poland. This is in accordance with the traditional friendship between Poland and France, in which a certain slowdown occurred earlier. In a sense, we are now returning to the former trail of friendship and cooperation.

Party Spokesman Summarizes Election Results

LD2106165889 Warsaw PAP in English
1521 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 21—A total of 460 deputies were elected to the Sejm in the general elections on June 4 and 18, this number being in keeping with the Polish Constitution.

PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee spokesman Jan Bisztyga has told PAP External Service that the PUWP parliamentary floor group has 173 deputies.

Zdislaw Lipsi from the United Peasant Party (ZSL) Press Office said that the ZSL had gained 76 seats in the Sejm.

Grzegorz Jablonski from the Democratic Party (SD) Department of Ideology, Propaganda and Press said that the SD had introduced 27 deputies to the Sejm.

Press spokesman of the Pax Catholic Association Roman Drecki said that this organization had gained 10 seats in the Sejm.

Andrzej Klepko from the Secretariat of the chairman of the Christian-Social Union said that it would be represented in the Sejm by 8 deputies.

Press spokesman of the Polish Catholic Social Union Jacek Mlynarski said his organization had won 5 seats in the Sejm of the new term of office.

Malgorzata Wierzbicka from the Solidarity press office said that Solidarity had gained 161 seats in the Sejm.

Solidarity has also won 99 out of 100 seats in the Senate. One senator Henryk Stoklosa said about himself he "belonged neither to the coalition nor to the opposition."

The Sejm of the former, ninth term of office included 245 deputies—PUWP members, 106 ZSL deputies, 35 SD members and 74 representatives of lay Catholics organizations and independent deputies.

For the first time in over forty years the Polish parliament was elected in other way and different shape than in the past. It is the first two-chamber parliament in Poland's post-war history.

The political map of Poland has changed. The Senate is dominated by "Solidarity" and there is a large, significant group of "Solidarity" deputies in the Sejm (Lower House). These are new elements in the Polish reality, and the public place of the opposition within the socialist state's system is something exceptional.

The present election has become an important stage on the road of forming civic society in Poland. The process has been under way for some time now, but only recently has it gained greater speed, before it came about, there had been the 10th PUWP CC Plenum, the round table and lately—the election.

Political Groups View Post-Election Cooperation

LD2106222989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] A meeting of the Central Commission for cooperation between the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], the United Peasants Party [ZSL], the Democratic Party [SD], and the movements of Catholics and lay Christians, PAX, the Christian Social Association [ChSS] and the Polish Catholic-Social Union [PZKS] was held in the PZPR Central Committee building.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, Stanislaw Ciosek, Jozef Czyrek, Marian Orzechowski, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Boguslaw Kolodziejczak, and Edward Szymanski took part in the meeting on behalf of the PZPR.

Roman Malinowski, Tadeusz Szelachowski, Bogdan Krolewski, Stanislaw Sliwinski, Kazimierz Fortuna, and Mikolaj Kozakiewicz took part on behalf of the ZSL.

Jerzy Jozwiak, Mieczyslaw Jakubowski, Jozef Musiol, Tadeusz Rymszewicz, Jerzy Robert Nowak, and Jozef Szaniec took part on behalf of the SD. Zenon Komender, chairman of the PAX Association, Kazimierz Morawski, chairman of the ChSS, and Wieslaw Gwizdz, chairman of the PZKS, also took part.

The general political situation after the elections to the Sejm and Senate, the principles for cooperation in the coalition in the parliamentary forum and matters related to the formation of the highest state authorities were discussed.

Solidarity Executive Commission Meeting Noted

AU2106164589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Jun 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Meeting of 'Solidarity' National Executive Commission"]

[Text] Gdansk—The National Executive Commission of "Solidarity" held a meeting in Gdansk, chaired by Lech Walesa. It examined the first round of the elections to the Sejm and Senate, elected commission members representing new "Solidarity" chapters, and discussed the future of the local and regional "Solidarity" citizens committees which had been set up to implement the elections.

"Solidarity" spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz said that with the end of the elections, these committees have fulfilled their purpose.

The human energy and potential which revealed itself during the elections cannot go to waste, said the commission. Instead, it should be channeled into local initiatives for the benefit of territorial self-management bodies and other forces supported by "Solidarity."

The commission adopted a resolution on statutory elections to "Solidarity" factory committees, saying that these elections should be based on the pattern of the 1980 elections, and should be completed by 30 September. After that, "Solidarity" will elect regional bodies; and after that, it will commence preparations for a national congress, which will appoint national union authorities.

Concerning organizational matters, it was decided that the borders of "Solidarity" chapters should coincide with voivodship borders, whereby a chapter might consist of one or more voivodships. That means that there can be no "parcelling" of a voivodship. A commission was appointed to deal with the reacquisition of union assets. The National Executive Commission adopted a resolution which expressed "profound concern over the protracted process of registering the Independent Students Union" and calling for its rapid registration.

Election Commission Receives Complaints

LD2006191689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Text] The State Electoral Commission has announced the official results of the second round of elections to the Sejm and Senate. On 18 June we elected 295 deputies and 8 senators. The commission took note of remarks entered to the protocol by some members of district electoral commissions, No. 50 in Krakow as well as the accusations by Tadeusz Balicki, an agent. Regarding itself to be unqualified to examine the matters it sent the materials to the Supreme Court.

The commission also accepted complaints made by members of the Ward Commission No. 8 in Dziekowizna and No. 49 in Krakow, concerning an illegal influence on the election result. The State Electoral Commission decided to hand those materials to the voivodship prosecutor in Krakow.

Editorial on Importance of Runoff Election

AU2106105889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Jun 89 pp 1, 2

[Editorial by Jerzy Majka, TRYBUNA LUDU editor in chief: "Honest Toward Ourselves and the Party"]

[Excerpts] Tomorrow is the second and last round of the elections to the National Assembly. Candidates from the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party], allied parties, and other coalition forces will contest 294 Sejm seats in 107 voting districts. [passage omitted]

Tomorrow's election battle is a particularly important one. The results of the Sunday voting will determine the political shape and composition of the PZPR deputies club. We would like to see party reformers in this club. [passage omitted]

The pre-election agreement guarantees a Sejm majority for the coalition. This majority will be a parliamentary guarantee for the continuation of the political order. Those who want this order to continue can express their desire only by turning up in front of the ballot boxes. The votes of our comrades and their families must not be missing from the votes to be cast tomorrow. Absence means political disqualification. See you in the polling stations!

Central Committee Member Assesses Elections

AU2106203589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Jun 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Leszek Miller, PZPR Central Committee secretary, by Zenon Kulej: "We Have Gained New and Valuable Experience"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Kulej] Almost 2 weeks have passed since the first round of the elections. The first assessments have already been made, and we will not repeat them. The defeat has left a bitter taste, but even so there are various shades of bitterness. What I am interested in, therefore, is a cool look at the "scene after the battle," illustrated with the personal views of someone who failed to find himself among the top two candidates on the list of candidates for senator. Why did you lose? Do you not regret the time that you lost?

[Miller] It would be very easy to say that I lost because I was not on the right team. I lost not to people, but to a symbol. It is not only party people who realized that it was a contest between two teams. Those opposition people not belonging to "Walesa's group" also realized it. It was not enough just to be in the opposition. One had to belong to the right opposition. But of course, this does not explain everything.

The question is asked whether the defeat could have been less extensive. Despite everything, I feel very satisfied after this campaign. I received 30,000 votes in Skierniewice Voivodship, 10,000 more votes than the number of PZPR members there. Therefore I realize that some nonparty people also supported me.

[Kulej] That gave you 19.8 percent of the votes, which was enough to give you third place, but not enough to beat the "Solidarity" candidates.

[Miller] Society considered "Solidarity" to be like Caesar's wife—beyond suspicion.

[Kulej] Professor Krawczuk might say that the suspicions of the Romans were not always unjustified.

[Miller] Pilsudski once said that Poles think in terms of symbols, not interests. That view remains valid. After all, during the election campaign, "Solidarity" played upon emotions and only rarely employed rational arguments. It is a pity that the campaign did not argue about the intellectual sphere and Poland's future.

[Kulej] Could we feel better after such a consolation?

[Miller] It is not consolation we need, but conclusions for further work. I have learned a major political lesson from this campaign. I thought I knew a lot. However, after over 50 meetings with voters, I can say that I have actually learned a lot. The election result cannot be undone, and I accept it. It does not at all mean that I am abandoning the commitments I made before the campaign. I wish to keep the promise I made to the voters.

[Kulej] Those are your personal thoughts. What about general conclusions?

[Miller] The campaign revealed huge intellectual and cadre reserves in the party. I have in mind the people who belonged to election committees and used their commitment and initiative to promote candidates. This applies not only to party people. My personal election committee also consisted of members of the United Peasant Party and Democratic Party, plus nonparty people.

[Kulej] As far as nonparty people are concerned, many of them never took part in previous work like this. However, times and requirements are changing, and a new set of cadres is emerging.

[Miller] Of course. On the other extreme, however, are comrades who still believe in old methods. They treated the elections like all previous ones. They thought to themselves: On 5 June, we will wake up to the same Poland, with the same problems. Even if the opposition gains control over the Senate, it will make no difference; after all, we have a guaranteed majority in the Sejm. The opposition will have to change its thinking, and quickly, they thought. This is quite simply a defeat for the old style of party.

[Kulej] Was it not a mistake to run for senator? Candidates for Sejm deputies had far better chances.

[Miller] Many people have asked me that. I must explain that we agreed with those bodies of party and government representatives with the greatest chances of success in the elections that we would compete for the Senate. Why? Because, although we are in touch with our voivodships of origin, we do not actually live in them any more. Therefore, we did not want to compete for Sejm seats with comrades who live in those voivodships. Apart from that, we felt attracted by the idea of free competition for Senate seats. We were also motivated by a desire to form an effective minority in the Senate. I say "minority" because we realized that "Solidarity" would win a lot of seats. The

charm of being in opposition is undeniable. Personally, I thought it would be possible to implement inside the Senate some kind of coalition between small, weak voivodships. In the Sejm, where the seats are divided up in proportion to the size of the population, these small voivodships are always overpowered.

[Kulej] Perhaps the opposition will form a kind of "lobby" representing small voivodships.

[Miller] I do not rule out the possibility. In the Sejm and Senate, there will be no clear dividing line between the coalition and "Solidarity." For example, during debates on the budget and industrial restructuring, Sejm deputies and senators are not going to be classified according to the organizations they belong to, but according to the interests of the milieus they represent. I wonder if in the Senate, those in favor of greater resources for agricultural development will have enough courage to face up to their colleagues from industry. We all know that in order to give to someone, one has to take from someone else.

[Kulej] Is criticism of the election rules reaching the party leadership? After all, if the PZPR and its allies did not have a majority, but merely had a proportional representation, they would have at least 20 percent of the seats in the Sejm.

[Miller] Yes, the aktivs are talking about this. We have adopted election rules in which the winner seizes everything. Therefore, one must realize that the balance of forces in the Senate does not reflect society's real support. In the first round of the elections, "Solidarity" did seize everything, although the coalition had about 20 percent of the votes. To this one should add the fact that almost 40 percent of voters did not vote at all. No one knows who they would have voted for.

[Kulej] There are various reasons for not voting, including a feeling of indifference toward the two main forces, objections to bipolar divisions, and a lack of confidence in the election rules. Some people have even said that the elections are not democratic enough.

[Miller] Yes. The opposition said that the elections are only partially democratic. I agree, although my reasons for saying so are different from "Solidarity's." Can one talk about fully democratic elections when there is such psychological pressure and such involvement on the part of the church? In the West, election campaigns are never fought right up to the very last moment, right up to the threshold of the polling stations. There is very little difference between telling people to vote without crossing out names or by crossing out certain names only, and telling them to vote for the National Unity Front or "Solidarity." Both cases involve depriving voters of the freedom to choose.

[Kulej] The method of nominating candidates was also far from democratic, even though "Solidarity" voiced no accusations.

[Miller] We decided on far greater pluralism, giving anyone the chance to be a candidate. From the point of view of election tactics, that was not very favorable because it led to a disintegration of votes. However, we might reap dividends from that, because many new politically talented people have emerged.

[Kulej] The 13th PZPR Plenum is ahead of us. What can one expect as a result of it?

[Miller] The post-election shock has created the need for a deep analysis of the situation. We have to show that our thoughts and desires are far-reaching. At the plenum we will surely examine preparations for the 11th Congress. From the defeat, we have to extract everything that could come in useful in further work. The party is facing the most serious problems in its history.

I think a profound programmatic and personnel reorganization has to take place. Perhaps a completely new party is called for, a party representing the social leftwing and social progress. Reorganization also involves the need to add to present methods and resources the methods and resources that are typical of opposition parties in parliamentary democracies.

[Kulej] During the campaign, some party candidates complained of having no support from party cells.

[Miller] They took part in the elections without a recommendation? How can one solve that problem? Everywhere in the world, no member of any political party can compete for a seat without a recommendation from his party. If you are nominated as a candidate by a group, it means you have collective support. If you have no support, you are a non-starter.

[Kulej] Life is continuing after these elections. Those few candidates who have just worn themselves out in the election struggle may provide our greatest strength in the people's council elections.

[Miller] Whenever these elections take place, that is a serious task for us. One has to prepare for these elections, availing oneself of the experience gained and drawing on the intellectual and cadre reserves that have been revealed. Self-management bodies and people's councils must exist in people's minds as energetic bodies that determine the fate of the territory they are responsible for.

[Kulej] Leaving aside matters of legislation which need to be settled (for example, the law on communal property), it seems to me that a lot has to change in people's mentality. In France, I saw communist councillors holding consultations with the voters in order to find out how to vote at the next session of the city council. There is nothing to stop our councillors from behaving the same way.

[Miller] Nothing except old habits! We have learned to think that someone "on top" will make a decision. It is not enough to resolve that "as of today, we are going to act effectively and democratically." There are no teachers and pupils here. We are not waiting for a revelation. We are quite simply acting.

Army Daily on Reform, Elections, 'Extremists'

AU2106131289 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 14 Jun 89 p 1

[Commentary by Lieutenant Colonel Tadeusz Mitek: "In Favor of Consistent Reform and Against All Forms of Extremism"]

[Text] We have written about the attitude of the military toward the changes that are taking place in the country, the "roundtable," the elections, and the results of the first round of the elections, stressing our commitment to reform, to the institutional renewal of the state, and to the creation of an efficient economic system.

However, certain public statements indicate that there is a need to repeat several basic points defining the attitude of the military toward the changes that are taking place. So let us repeat that we see ourselves and act as a proreform force in our training system and social activity and by way of our considerable authority in society. In viewing and participating in these changes, we support their evolutionary character. We support a movement toward institutional renewal that discards inefficient, outdated, and defective structures, that makes it possible to avoid violent upheavals that destabilize the state, prevents anarchy in public life, and does not stir up feelings. It will, however, be a consistent, irreversible movement toward social and economic progress and toward a democratic and humanist socialist state, in which the economic system will operate effectively, work will be organized sensibly, and man will feel that his dignity is respected.

It is with such thoughts on the state in mind that we are primarily guided by a feeling of responsibility for the state's internal calm, the security of its citizens, and the sovereignty of the state and its external security. In addition, we understand state security in terms of the whole complex of economic and social conditions that determine our defense capability as well as in terms of international factors.

These factors are the continuing division of the world into two political and military blocs, the increasingly higher qualitative standard of world weaponry, and the continuing existence of revisionist tendencies that enjoy the support of significant forces in the West, including revisionist tendencies with regard to our Western borders.

That is why we combine responsible thinking about state defense with our unequivocal participation in the Warsaw Pact, participation that is not open to question.

We are counting on a policy of precisely this kind—a policy that is based on a feeling of responsibility, on consistent reform action, but should not lead to chaos in the state—being pursued by a grand proreform coalition chosen on the basis of the election results. There is room in such a coalition for all forces that think about Poland's future in terms of civic categories, in terms of serving Poland, to use military language.

We declare our support for such a coalition.

At the same time, we express our concern about extremists raising their voices, those who do not want work together to create, but only want to destroy. This applies to, for example, the "anonymous Anarchist International activist" who was given an opportunity to air his views in GAZETA WYBORCZA (No. 26). He writes: "the street and not the worthy committees on both sides will determine the further course of events." He goes on to say: "The Army and the police, which remain in the service of the apparatus, are the greatest obstacle to the free development of the life of the individual and the people."

We have to reply to those who express such views that the Army really is an "obstacle" to the "development of anarchy," to letting "the street decide," and to the "Anarchist International" holding sway in society. This is not because the military remains in the service of some kind of "apparatus," but because its mission is to serve the people and the state. Anarchist aims and language can only harm the state and push it toward crisis.

Just as we expressed our clear support for a proreform coalition, we express our clear and resolute disapproval of and warn against those who wish to introduce anarchy into Polish reality.

Warsaw Solidarity News Conference Reported

LD2206030289 Warsaw PAP in English 2024 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 21—The Warsaw "Solidarity" citizens' committee will certainly be dissolved as an electoral committee, stated its Chairman Jan Litynski at a press conference here today. He also announced that all local district citizens' committees in Warsaw decided to continue their work and started attempts to obtain suitable offices.

Jan Litynski also said that the meeting of the Warsaw "Solidarity" citizens' committee will decide about its future on Wednesday afternoon. Most members of the hitherto committee are in favour of its continuing its activity in some form and see preparations for self-government elections, which may be precipitated, as its may task, similarly to those facing district and territorial committees.

Asked about ways of financing citizens' committees in the future, Litynski said that they will probably have to undertake some kind of money-earning activity.

Replying to the questions on main topics of Lech Walesa's meeting with deputies and senators recommended by the "Solidarity" citizens' committee scheduled for Friday, June 23, Litynski stated that it is going to be a preliminary discussion on "Solidarity" representatives' tactics in the Sejm and Senate. The proposal of cooperation voiced by the government side, problems of division into parliamentary committees and appointments to them, election of president, and other things are also likely to be discussed.

Asked about the main goal of the Thursday meeting of the "Solidarity" citizens' committee, Jacek Moskwa, also present at the conference, said that the committee will sum up the course and results of the elections and consider further strategy for its activity.

Walesa Comments on Elections in Italian Paper

LD2206030589 Warsaw PAP in English 2031 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Rome, June 21—"We have to support the government in everything that may help to go ahead with the reforms and stand in its way if it happens to leave the road adopted at the round table," Lech Walesa said in an interview for an Italian daily IL MESSAGGERO, in which leader of the Solidarity appraised the situation in Poland after the elections.

Walesa explained, among other things, that the Solidarity cannot fully consume its electoral win because it is organisationally unprepared and therefore it is not going to join the system of government at this time.

Answering the question whether he did not fear parliamentary activities to be paralysed by the balance of forces in parliament and, in consequence, difficulties the government may have with taking decisions, Walesa replied that: "These are exaggerated fears. We are not anarchists and there will be no blockade of parliamentary work. Our representatives will support all initiatives which lead to reforms."

Speaking about the situation in the PUWP [People's United Workers Party] leader of the Solidarity union voiced an opinion that the party had admitted its blunders, managed to survive its most difficult time, and now its position may improve.

Walesa Said To Be 'Arrogant,' 'Treacherous'

PM2106141789 Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 13 Jun 89 pp 1, 3

[Report signed (IN): "Reconciliation or Rift? Severe Accusations Against Lech Walesa; Harsh Speech by A. Gwiazda"]

[Text] For all of 5 hours yesterday (Monday) afternoon the [Szczecin] shipyard's Korab Club was the scene of a wholesale leveling of accusations against Lech Walesa. The principal charges were that he reneged on Solidarity's ideals as a treacherous, vainglorious, arrogant man who took no notice whatever of the union or its members. He was accused of humiliating and insulting them, of having squandered the achievements of August 1980 and abandoned the practices and methods of union democracy. And democracy must not be created by undemocratic methods.

The vocabulary, the invectives, and the examples and metaphors used during the meeting provided, in their turn, a clear demonstration of how to humiliate the man who once stood at the head of the whole movement. It would be very hard indeed to come across as many negative opinions of Lech Walesa and his Szczecin collaborators, that is, Milczanowski, Radziewicz, Ustasiak, and Kowalczyk, in coalition circles or the official press.

The meeting was organized by the Provisional Board of NSZZ [Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarity's West Pomeranian Region, which is headed by Marian Jurczyk. The subject of the meeting between the members of that particular group within Solidarity was, according to the written invitations, "a discussion of the current situation within the union."

The principal speakers at the rally were Marian Jurczyk, Stanislaw Wadolowski, and Andrzej Gwiazda—whose speech, or rather address, was vindicatory and provocative in the extreme.

The appearance of Counselor Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki in this select team created a sensation. It was not so long ago that he represented a different Szczecin group in the roundtable talks—a group not officially recognized by Marian Jurczyk. The rhetoric of Sila-Nowicki's speech was much different from the bellicose, aggressive tone of the addresses delivered by his recently acquired clients. He appealed for reconciliation and unity. But at the same time he declared that, should the willingness to achieve reconciliation be rejected again, it would then become necessary to follow peacefully along one's own road. This declaration was greeted with a prolonged ovation. Counselor Sila-Nowicki pointed out that Szczecin deserved a particular accolade because the Solidarity movement was born there even before Gdansk.

Objective observers found the logic of the proceedings—presided over by Stanislaw Kocjan—somewhat mysterious.

On the one hand there were the appeals for unity of action within the whole movement. It was pointed out that frequent conciliatory gestures were constantly being extended toward Lech Walesa as leader. Arguments were cited to prove that the Regional Provisional Board was in fact terrified of the possibility of a rift.

On the other hand we heard words of accusation and condemnation that discredited Walesa as leader. There was even speculation on the likelihood of Walesa's having settled for a secret pact during the roundtable talks, comparable to the Ribentropp-Molotov pact and sealed by exchanging sets of confidential documents. It was claimed that the personality cult created around Lech Walesa was calculated to confuse the masses, and that Lech Walesa consented to an inadmissible compromise, turned traitor, and should not be allowed to stand at the head of Solidarity.

All these pronouncements were invariably accompanied by declarations about the need for the movement's rebirth in its pure, August 1980 form. According to one of the speakers, Counselor Eugeniusz Szymala, this was the movement's character in Szczecin before "others jumped on the movement's bandwagon." Is it possible that this will herald the creation of a separate, extremist, and fundamentalist section of Solidarity?

In a plebiscite vote, the meeting approved the text of the "Resolution and Appeal," prepared some days previously by a Szczecin commission working in collaboration with radical Solidarity activists invited to Szczecin from all regions of the country. The resolution states that the Solidarity Union registered 17 April this year is a new organization. The authors ask: Do we already have two unions or still one? They appeal for unity and propose democratic trade union elections—to be organized from the grassroots structures all the way to the top—which, it is to be hoped, will restore that unity. There are 99 signatures under the text of the resolution, including those by Jurczyk, Wadolowski, Kocjan, Slowik, Gwiazda, and... Sila-Nowicki. The resolution is addressed to the pope, Polish cardinals, Lech Walesa, the World Confederation of Labor, and many other recipients.

In his closing speech Andrzej Gwiazda put up an exhaustive argument for the need to combat "this system." The system, he claimed, was not afraid to relinquish its power—it was only afraid to relinquish its money. It was not true that the system had no money. It had far too much money, and it was the workers' task to wrest it away from the system. "Do not believe those who tell you otherwise," were Andrzej Gwiazda's closing words, delivered to the accompaniment of a massive ovation from the audience.

It was noted that Szczecin opposition journalists, who are so eager to seek pluralism, were conspicuously absent from the meeting.

Government-Opposition Liaison Team Meets

AU2206075289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Jun 89 p 4

[PAP report: "In the Spirit of the 'Roundtable'"]

[Excerpts] The Team for Economic Affairs and Social Policy, created by the Government-Opposition Liaison Commission, held its inaugural meeting on 17 June.

The first item on the agenda was the role and function of the team. Wladyslaw Baka, chairman of the government side, suggested that the team mainly involve itself with assessing the implementation of the "roundtable's" economic decisions. He stressed that regardless of the political model that will establish itself as a result of the elections, it is essential to heed the principle of "pacta sunt servanda." This view was shared by Witold Trzeciakowski, chairman of the opposition side, who said that it is difficult to establish a more precise role for the team.

The two chairmen and remaining members agreed that the team may become a major forum for exchanges of information on major economic problems.

The government side briefed the opposition-"Solidarity" side about the work on implementing various "roundtable" agreements that should be completed by the end of the second quarter. These include according Krakow protected city status, appointing a team dealing with the reform to the health service, and ending coal extraction during the third shift on Saturdays. The ban on bringing industrial waste into Poland and compulsory reports on the impact of investment projects on the environment have already been incorporated in legal instruments passed by the Sejm. It is foreseen that other "roundtable" agreements concerning changes to economic plans will be implemented in the nearest future. This also applies to the Central Annual Plan amendment calling for a 5-day week for miners, and the 1986-90 National Socioeconomic Plan amendment calling for reduced outlay on the fuel and energy industry, so that the state of the environment can improve. [passage omitted]

A considerable part of the meeting was devoted to economic affairs. Both sides agreed that the economic situation has clearly deteriorated since the end of the "roundtable." The reason for this is the excessive flow of money and the increased gulf between prices and incomes. This means extra money pressure on the market, which could cause it to disintegrate. [passage omitted]

It was decided that the team would meet again in June in order to acquaint itself with proposals concerning the pro-market orientation of the food economy against the background of the country's general economic situation. Should the team accept these proposals, it will refer them for consultation among the milieus represented by team members.

It is still too early to precisely define the team's role and place as the first advisory body of the Liaison Commission. One will be able to reconsider this issue after our country's political structure has taken shape following the formation of the two National Assembly chambers and appointment of the government. [passage omitted]

Bishops Review Sociopolitical Situation

AU2206093589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Jun 89 p 4

[PAP report: "Communique on 235th Plenary Conference by the Polish Episcopate"]

[Excerpts] The Government Press Office reports: The 235th plenary conference of the Polish Episcopate met at the Higher Spiritual Seminary in Goscikow-Paradyz on 16 and 17 June. It was chaired by Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland. [passage omitted]

The Polish bishops welcomed the Sejm's adoption on 17 May 1989 of the State-Church Relations Act and Social Security for Clergymen Act. They said these acts will shape proper church-state relations for the benefit of society, and hoped that they would be implemented in accordance with the law and in the same climate that accompanied their drafting. The bishops thanked the state-church editorial teams for their enormous effort in preparing and proofing these acts.

The bishops carefully considered the current situation in Poland. There are changes underway in Poland, and a major social and political reactivation of society is occurring. These are positive developments, and should lead to the economic changes that are so necessary to improve the lives of millions of families and lonely people. Everything that is happening in our country should be accompanied by a respect for the social and ethical order, whereas political and social forces should preserve restraint in their action, wisdom, caution, and a deep feeling of responsibility for the country's further fortunes. That is a measure of our national and civic maturity, which will make the Polish state regain its prestige in the eyes of international society.

The church shall encourage processes of change in accordance with Catholic social teachings, while preserving its own identity and fulfilling its appointed mission to the Polish people. [passage omitted]

The bishops discussed the great question of human life, and pointed out that protecting the unborn from the moment of their conception constitutes a battle for man himself and his basic right—the right to live.

They heard a report on the problems of young people caused by increasing drug addiction, and on the dangers of AIDS. They also discussed ways and possibilities of overcoming these dangers in Poland. [passage omitted]

At the conclusion of the conference, the bishops gave their blessing to all fellow countrymen at home and abroad.

Youths Hold Anti-Soviet Rallies in Krakow

LD2106213689 Warsaw PAP in English 1956 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Krakow, June 21—Groups of youngsters identifying themselves with the KPN (Confederation of Independent Poland), the WPI (Freedom and Peace), the Federation of Fighting Youth, the DNZS (Independent Student Union), and the so-called Anarchistyczna Miedzymiastowka (Anarchistic Intercity) staged a rally at the town's main square today.

The demonstrators marched from the square to the buildings of the Soviet consulate and local PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] committee shouting their usual slogans: "Soviets Go Home," and "Down With Commune." Law enforcement troops did not interfere, though city transport was paralyzed for several dozen minutes in rush hours.

University Senate: NKVD Committed Katyn Massacre

LD2206104889 Warsaw PAP in English 0958 GMT 22 Jun 89

["Katyn Crime Committed by NKVD, Warsaw University States"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, June 22—Following are excerpts of one of the two resolutions adopted by the Senate of Warsaw University and made public by the SLOWO POWSZECHNE paper:

On Katyn Crime Issue

1. The Senate of Warsaw University follows with concern the attempts which have been made for nearly 2 years relating to the Katyn crime.

They insult the national feelings of Poles and arouse a firm protest. They cast a shadow on mutual relations between our nations.

2. These attempts aim at obscuring the basic fact known in Poland and the world for nearly half a century. Namely: The Katyn crime committed on thousands of Polish officers interned by the Soviet Union in 1939 was committed by NKVD bodies.

3. The maneuvers around the Katyn crime consist in attempts to create a false appearance that despite obviousness, the "Katyn case is very unclear and calls for long-term research." Unfortunately, the Polish-Soviet commission of party historians is also being used as a tool in these maneuvers.

4. The goal of the maneuvers around the Katyn crime is clear. The point is to create a cover and excuse for all those who for nearly half a century have tried to falsify the truth about Katyn, thus becoming the supporters of the terrible crime. The ostensible vagueness of the case is supposed to be the excuse.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Editorial Introduces New Weekly RONDO

AU2206093189 Warsaw RONDO in Polish 7 May 89 p 2

[Unsigned editorial: "From the Editor"]

[Text] We commend to the hands of our readers the first issue of RONDO, a publication which we plan to be "a weekly for enterprising people, for people with energy." The idea to publish this weekly arose out of the conviction that, despite appearances, Poland has no shortage of people who do not agree with the day-to-day drabness of life, do not sit (or do not want to sit) with arms folded, and do not use the crisis as an excuse to be inactive. Our conviction is based on observations of society. The drastic growth of private companies, involved in various spheres of business; the efforts of managerial cadres to insure the expansion of firms in such a difficult situation; the mass migration of our countrymen in order to improve their standard of living and that of their families (trips lasting several months or years, or just several days); a strong tendency to replace present organized housing construction by private construction in order to secure housing accommodation; the rejection of state control over art and over new artistic developments—these are just some of the numerous signs of this energy.

Therefore, we address this weekly also to those who already know how to do business but would like to see how others do it, those who have just started in business and are gaining experience in implementing practical ideas, and those who are unsure whether to set themselves up in business now or wait a littler longer.

We shall not only promote enterprising people, Polish managers and businessmen, but also protect them against jealousy and attempts to make them scapegoats for unsuccessful ventures. For this purpose, we have established close cooperation with the Association of Managers, organizations of directors and employers, and creative and professional associations.

Our authorities, the new government, and "roundtable" have expressed a firm desire to implement profound changes to the economy and social life. Hopes are being placed on citizens' enterprise and initiative and on their desire to improve what we can all see is a bad situation.

Our weekly wishes to promote these changes, help enterprising people, and defend progressive managers of state firms. We will publicize the experience of the first businessmen from companies, private firms, and firms based on foreign capital, who have overcome the barriers of "impotence," adopted an energetic attitude, taken a risk, and finally achieved success. We will also offer advice to all those who want to break away from passiveness and prove to others that they too can be enterprising and have enough knowledge and zeal to make better use of their abilities.

We are convinced that the size of our readership will increase from month to month, parallel to the changes for the better that are occurring in our country.

'Disappointment' About Bonn's Financial Offers

AU2206085889 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 22 Jun 89 pp 1-2

[Horst Schreitter-Schwarzenfeld report: "Poland Disappointed About Bonn's Offers"]

[Excerpt] Bonn, 21 June—According to information from Poland, "everything is still open" concerning the trip by Chancellor Helmut Kohl to Poland. On Wednesday [21 June] in a talk with FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, official Polish circles expressed disappointment about the offers of financial concessions that the FRG Government has made so far. Negotiations have still to be held before any agreements can be concluded, it was said. [passage omitted]

UK's Thatcher Receives Solidarity's Geremek

LD2106225989 Warsaw PAP in English 1656 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] London, June 21—British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher received here today "Solidarity" activist and one of the closest advisors to Lech Walesa, Bronislaw Geremek, now on a short visit here.

Early in the afternoon Professor Geremk delivered a lecture on "Solidarity and Poland's Future" in the Royal Institute of International Affairs here in which he appealed to Europe and the world for immediate, massive economic assistance for Polish reforms.

Such an assistance, he said, lies in the interest of both Poland and Europe itself. Geremek explicitly came out in favour of evolution as the only road of political reforms in Poland ensuring status quo in Europe.

"As a man interned under martial law, I have no reason to be a personal sympathizer of General Jaruzelski," Geremek said. "I believe, however, that he genuinely desires that political evolution be carried out in Poland and I hope that he will continues to be a patron of the round table process and dialogue," he added.

Commentator Considers Brzezinski Lecture

AU2106150989 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 14 Jun 89 p 5

[Commentary by Michal Kolodziejczak: "Zbigniew Brzezinski's Vision of the World and Europe at the End of the 20th Century"]

[Excerpts] Today we would like to submit for our readers' assessment extensive excerpts (excerpts that are essentially exhaustive in terms of the substantive content of the text) of a speech delivered by Prof Zbigniew Brzezinski, former national security adviser to President Carter and currently

lecturer in law and administration theory at Georgetown University in Washington. His speech at the Jagiellonian University—it was attended by Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, archbishop of Krakow—contained theses identical to those that appeared in the paper delivered at the Catholic University of Lublin the day before. We have decided to use it, because in our opinion it was written in a more condensed form and certain ideas were highlighted more clearly. A few months ago an article of mine entitled "East-West Relations and Eastern Europe" appeared in SLOWO POWSZECHNE. It was based on an analysis of the results produced by a conference held in Alexandria (Virginia), with the participation of American and Soviet political scientists, under the title "The Place and Role of Europe in Reducing Tension Between the United States and the USSR." At the conference, Prof Brzezinski delivered a lengthy report. It essentially provided a comprehensive explanation of why it is necessary for Eastern Europe to implement far-reaching, peaceful political and economic reforms, assuming that they will not have a destabilizing effect on the territorial and geopolitical arrangement of forces in the world. The Krakow lecture expands on and gives concrete form to certain thoughts contained in that report in light of the changed political conditions both in the USSR and in Poland. For many years Brzezinski's persistent attacks on the main ideological principles of the so-called Brezhnev Doctrine, which, as we know, provided for interference in the internal affairs of countries belonging to our community in the event of significant departures from the theory and practice of so-called real socialism, made him the target of bitter attacks, and not just from Marxist circles.

However, once Brzezinski had withdrawn from active involvement in politics and from making history as an architect of American foreign policy, his analyses and predictions markedly gained in depth and realism. I think that in the current domestic political situation in Poland, following the first round and before the second round of the Sejm and Senate elections, a familiarity with Brzezinski's theses makes it possible to acquire a better understanding of the international background to the changes that are taking place in our country, the West's intentions, and Europe's place and status in America's vision of the world at the end of the 20th century.

Of course, Brzezinski's vision does have its weaknesses. While maintaining that totalitarian systems have suffered a moral and economic defeat and delivering a paean to pluralism as liberating man's creative powers, the professor flounders in generalizations when it comes to explaining the general U.S. policy line concerning the countries in this region such as Poland which are instituting significant domestic reforms. He categorically rejects a new Marshall Plan as a means of bolstering their economic structures, but, at the same time, encourages them to undertake reforms that would integrate the socialist countries' economies into the world economy. [passage omitted]

There is also something utopian about Brzezinski's suggestion that Poland should become more closely integrated with Czechoslovakia. Unfortunately, the current trend among socialist countries is one of seeking advantageous partnership arrangements with the West independently, and less interest in a reform of CEMA structures. An economic organism based solely on Polish and Czechoslovak capabilities would also be unable to compete effectively in world markets against communities based on unlimited resources of raw materials and highly advanced production technology. Under an arrangement of this kind, neither of the two states could perform the role of an "engine" of progress or could stimulate progress to a degree that would satisfy our aspirations. I have also deliberately avoided assessing the accuracy of predictions that the CSSR will shortly join those countries that are in the forefront of reforming their sociopolitical systems.

However, I think that something that does merit further study and thought are all Brzezinski's observations concerning an alliance with the Soviet Union that is founded on a broader social base than at present and on partnership in all areas of cooperation: political, economic, science and technical, and cultural cooperation.

On behalf of the editorial board, I would like to apologize to Prof Brzezinski for removing the observations at the beginning of the text concerning his personal ties with Poland and America. All the abridgments that have been made to the text do not alter its meaning and only serve to provide a better exposition of the individual theses. Very minor stylistic changes have been made as, contrary to what he himself says, Z. Brzezinski's command of Polish, although it is a long time since he learned it, is excellent.

Daily Views Beijing 'Massacre' Implications

AU2106131989 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Jun 89 p 5

[Commentary by Tadeusz Barzdo: "China: Questions About Tomorrow"]

[Excerpts] The situation in China remains unclear, but a point of reference has emerged that, in a nutshell, provides an official interpretation of the tragic events in that country. This was Friday's [9 June] statement by Deng Xiaoping, who is considered the principal Chinese leader. He said that "the disturbances were caused by a small handful of wicked people." Their goal is said to have been the destruction of the leading role of the Communist Party, the socialist system, and the people's republic, as well as the establishment of a bourgeois republic. As if seeking to play down the implications of the "conspiracy theory" put forward on behalf of the Chinese leadership, the 85-year-old Deng said: "What happened in Beijing did not depend on the will of the people in every respect; the disturbances turned into counterrevolution."

However, the conspiracy theory is in force, as is borne out by the mass arrests among participants in the Beijing demonstrations, which ended with military intervention and the massacre in Tiananmen Square. Fang Lizhi, the 53-year-old astrophysicist and well-known Chinese dissident who has sought refuge in the American Embassy in the Chinese capital, is not the only person to have been accused of "conducting counterrevolutionary propaganda." Chinese television has been carrying telephone numbers that people can phone to provide information on the activities of student and worker activists....

Today China is suffering a serious collapse. There were earlier signs that an illness of this kind could occur, but even the most pessimistic diagnoses did not envisage that the course of events would take such a dramatic turn. The use of the military to crush action that displeases the authorities is not a Chinese invention. However, this is the first time, even if we include the "cultural revolution," that military means were used with such terrible consequences in the PRC. [passage omitted]

Today guns have replaced the use of the police and of laws in China. The scale of the tragedy that occurred on Beijing's Tiananmen Square and shocked the whole country makes it difficult to predict what will happen in the future. However, there is no doubt that, by its actions, the present Chinese leadership has dug an enormous trench of mistrust (often, a trench of hatred) that separates it from society. This particularly applies to the younger generation of Chinese, whose dissatisfaction was, ironically, the product of the great success of the economic reforms.

What next? It would appear to be the case that China, a country of such enormous significance and potential, cannot remain on the sidelines with respect to the main developmental trends in the world. This seems all the more true as China has been on the verge of becoming modern for the past 10 years and has accomplished so much. How much of this can be rescued depends on the next moves that will be made by the present leadership, and if not by it, then undoubtedly by the next leadership.

Commentary Views Mitterrand's Visit to Poland

AU2106143689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17-18 Jun 89 p 5

[Waldemar Kedaj article: "Confidence in Poland"]

[Text] The last act of President Mitterrand's visit to Poland, the news conference in the conference hall of the Victoria hotel in Warsaw, commenced with a slight delay. The small technical hitch only served to highlight the lively and rich character of the visit, a visit which put the accent on acceleration.

The impressions that Mitterrand received of his meetings in Warsaw, Gdansk, and Krakow, led him to believe that Europe had seen the end of the hermetic division, and that an opportunity for establishing bridges and ties between the two parts of the continent had presented itself. There had been a certain acceleration of history, the assembled crowd of journalists heard.

This is an important conclusion, all the more so as the memory of the time of division, lack of understanding, and alienation that was far too intense if one considers the size of Europe, is still relatively fresh. The effort to surmount divisions and barriers, and to free oneself from political stances, even in the short term, requires great courage and competence. It was these very qualities: the intellectual boldness, the obvious skill, the self-restraint, and the real patriotism, that the distinguished guest from France saw and praised in the chairman of the State Council, Wojciech Jaruzelski, in Premier Rakowski, and in the other people who had agreed to undertake the difficult Polish experiment, a great undertaking which had no equal.

Francois Mitterrand wants to treat Polish reforms as a whole. He stresses the need for synthesis, and sees that the success of this bold experiment hinges on the responsibility of all those who are participating in it. This is the logical position of a politician of world rank, a politician who fully supports the building of a suitably furnished common European home, and is against the imposition of new barriers by the EEC.

It is for these reasons that the president supports France's endeavors to help Poland economically without any political preconditions, and he appeals to other countries to follow suit. In his answer to a question from TRYBUNA LUDU, he stressed that Franco-Polish relations, so close throughout history, have again become privileged. The readiness of the two countries to cooperate with one another, bearing in mind their geographic positions, should create favorable conditions for a further general and positive evolution on the continent.

France, he stated, has decided to put its confidence in Poland. It is notable that these very sentiments were expressed a few days earlier in Brussels and London, during the visit of the chairman of the State Council Wojciech Jaruzelski. The courage and ingenuity attributed to the Polish leader and without which there would be no faith in the politics of reform on the banks of the Vistula, have become highly valued.

Indian Minister Singh Visits, Meets Leaders

Meets Rakowski, Others

LD2206090389 Warsaw PAP in English 1839 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 21—Indian minister of state for foreign affairs Natwar Singh started his visit to Warsaw today. Singh is a close associate of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

Today's programme of the visit included meetings and talks with Polish officials. Natwar Singh was received by Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

Singh also paid a visit to vice-president of the Council of State Tadeusz Szelachowski. The meetings were attended by Indian ambassador to Poland Gurdip Singh Bedi.

The Indian minister of state was received by Political Bureau member, PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party] CC [Central Committee] secretary Marian Orzechowski. During a warm and friendly talk, Orzechowski briefed the Indian guest on the current social, political and economic situation in Poland, giving considerable attention to the results of the elections to the Sejm and Senate.

Orzechowski spoke about the guidelines of PUWP's activities before the 13th PUWP CC plenary meeting, stressing the party's will to continue the processes of creating socialist parliamentary democracy and of reforming Poland's economic life.

During the talk, much attention was paid to international affairs, especially to prospects for the development of mutual relations between Poland and India. The sides stressed the need for taking advantage of possibilities to develop all-around, mutually beneficial cooperation and expressed satisfaction over the favourable developing ties between the PUWP and the Indian national congress.

Polish-Indian plenary talks were held under the chairmanshp of Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski and Natwar Singh. The sides assessed bilateral relations as good in general, although there are possibilities for their further development in various fields, especially in the economic field. The ministers stressed that mutual turnover may drop this year from last year's 280 million dollars and underlined the need for undertaking efforts to prevent it.

Discussing the international situation, the Polish side focused on the presentation of Poland's contacts with socialist and western states and described this country's efforts to decrease its debt. The Indian presented the situation in Southeast Asia.

Directly after the plenary talks, both ministers signed an agreement on avoiding double taxation.

War Veterans Condemn 16 June Events in Hungary

AU2106113389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1007 GMT 21 Jun 89

["Firm Attitude Against the Antisocialist, Nationalistic-Chauvinistic and Anti-Romanian Manifestations in Budapest"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 21/6/1989—On June 21 the leading Romanian dailies run the telegram addressed to RCP [Romanian Communist Party] General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania and SDUF [Socialist Democracy and Unity Front] chairman by the Committee of Former Antifascist War Combatants and Veterans, which related to the clear fascist, anti-social, revisionist and anti-Romanian manifestations held in Budapest on June 16, 1989, reads inter alia:

On behalf of all those having faced the jail and the concentration camp during the bourgeois-landlord regime for their revolutionary, patriotic and anti-fascist activity, of those who shed their blood in the battlefield to crush Horthy's and Hitler's men and to free Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Austria from the brown pest, on behalf of our comrades who made the supreme sacrifice so that peoples may live in peace and understanding in their untouched, free and independent countries, we brand most indignantly the tolerance of the Hungarian circles which facilitated such manifestations and condemn strongly these intolerable actions.

Considering that such manifestations gravely disadvantage peoples in general, the cause of socialism and peace, the Hungarian people themselves and the socialist system in their homeland, the telegram goes on:

With regret and revolt we have learned that the Magyar reactionary circles have taken this opportunity to organize open manifestations of an anti-Romanian nature, with the participation of declasse, legionary and fascist elements which found shelter and asylum in Hungary or came there from abroad.

As people in whose voice sounds the history of the fight against fascism we ardently ask you to request the leadership of the Hungarian People's Republic to take the due measures for the cessation of any interference in Romania's internal affairs, to oust the declasse elements who joined with diabolic zeal in the hostile manifestations in Budapest, on June 16. We know these elements ran away from the country fearing the Romanian people's anger at the crimes they had perpetrated, and that they cannot accept the idea that Romania has been climbing higher and higher towards the peaks of the socialist and communist civilization.

We would like the Hungarian Government to ask their compatriots our age and the youth of Hungary to ask their parents and look into their eye when they answer the question: What do more than 42,000 Romanians that died for the liberation of their homeland stand for, what was the worth of the food, clothing and protection contributed by the Romanian Army, and also to ask the Hungarian people who else than the Romanian people overlooked the atrocities perpetrated by Horthy's troops and administration in the north-western territory of Romania, ruthlessly torn away by Hitler from its natural borders to be given to his acolyte, Horthy. [sentence as received] The right answer should make our neighbours realize that the help given them should not be returned in evil. At the time, in the name of reason we took up arms against injustice. Again in the name of reason now we speak up again against the anti-communist, anti-Romanian and fascist designs in Hungary.

Ceausescu Gives Interview to Algerian Weekly

AU2106125089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1013 GMT 21 Jun 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Receives Special Envoys of the Weekly 'REVOLUTION AFRICAINE'"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 21/6/1989—June 21, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Larab Mohamed [name as received] and Lazhari Labter [name as received], special envoys of the weekly "REVOLUTION AFRICAINE", central organ of the National Liberation Front of Algeria.

On the occasion, President Nicolae Ceausescu granted an interview for the weekly "REVOLUTION AFRICAINE".

Symposium on Poet Eminescu's Centennial

AU2006190189

[Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 14 June on page 3 carries a 7,500-word first part and SCINTEIA in Romanian on 15 June on page 2 carries the 5,000-word second part of a report on the proceedings of "An Homage-Paying Symposium Devoted to the Mihai Eminescu Centennial" held on 13 and 14 June in Bucharest, entitled "A Touching Demonstration of the Appreciation for Our Great National Poet and His Everlasting Work Inspired From the Life and the Ideals of the Romanian People." SCINTEIA of 14 June on page 1 also carries the text of "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Message" to the participants in the symposium and a 900-word text of the "Telegram Addressed to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania by the Participants in the Homage-Paying Symposium Devoted to Mihai Eminescu Centennial." The authors of the telegram express the commitment of the Romanian men of letters to create works of art "which reflect the great work of our people and in which the main characters are workers, peasants,

and the intelligentsia, with their concerns, their aspiration for progress and well-being, and their determination to contribute to the construction of socialism and communism in Romania."

The account of the first part of the symposium proceedings begins with a 400-word report on the opening speech delivered by Suzana Gadea, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee and chairman of the Council for Socialist Education and Culture. After praising Mihai Eminescu, "the poet who was born and raised on Romanian soil," and his work, Gadea pays tribute to the message sent by Nicolae Ceausescu to this symposium and mentions that Eminescu's poems can truly be appreciated "in the years of socialist revolution, especially in this period of restorating all great values of our national culture—the Nicolae Ceausescu era."

The report on Gadea's speech is followed by seven reports, ranging between 600 and 800 words, on papers read to the symposium by various university professors, a poet, and by the Hungarian ethnic writer Gyozo Hajdu, chief editor of the Hungarian language magazine IGAZ SZO, which is put out in Romania. All the papers bear titles connected with Eminescu, such as "Mihai Eminescu—Our Contemporary" read by Dumitru Radu Popescu, chairman of the Writers Union of Romania, or "Mihai Eminescu's Work, a Brilliant Synthesis of the National Character of the Romanian Literature" by University Professor Ion Dodu Balan. However, after briefly dealing with the poet and his work, the papers focus on the message sent by Nicolae Ceausescu to the symposium and with the way in which Eminescu's work has been appropriately valued after the Ninth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party. The Hungarian ethnic writer Gyozo Hajdu, in his paper entitled "The Social Character of Mihai Eminescu's Poems," mentions that Eminescu's poems were translated into Hungarian as early as 1885 and they continue "to teach us" that "the most noble sentiment is the love for one's country and love for our dear common homeland, Romania."

The 5,000-word second part of the symposium, carried in the SCINTEIA on 15 June mentions that the proceedings of the symposium continued on 13 June in the afternoon and on 14 June in the morning in two sections: "Poem, Prose, Theater" and "Science, Philosophy, Journalism" and that the proceedings were inspired by "the ideas and comments included in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's message." The list of those who reportedly took the floor in the two sections includes Romanian university professors and art and literary critics, as well as the names of some foreign quests, poets, writers, and translators. The speeches made by the participants are reported in general terms, mainly dealing with Eminescu's literary merits. The report on the symposium concludes with the remark that since the proceedings of the symposium take place "in the year when the 45th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation is being celebrated," the participants in the symposium expressed "the resolute will of the people of art and culture, who, like all the nation, are closely united around the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to increase their contribution to the continuous prosperity of the homeland and to create new works of art which reflect the great effort of our people devoted to the building of socialism and communism in Romania."

Loncar Concludes Talks, Visit to Washington

AU2106130889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jun 89 p 9

[Bogdan Decermic report: "Something Slightly Different"]

[Text] New York, 18 Jun—The U.S. Government has invited the Yugoslav foreign minister to visit Washington for the second time in the history of Yugoslav-U.S. relations. First it invited Milos Minic during the 1970's, and now Budmir Loncar who spent 2 days last week talking to State Department officials, Secretary of State Baker, Bush's security adviser Scowcroft, and the representatives of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives, Senator Claiborne Pell and Congressman Dante Fascell, both democrats.

When the United States invites somebody, it has its reasons. According to your correspondent, who incidentally also reported on Minic's visit, in the 1970's Washington displayed considerable interest in Yugoslavia's position on the world scene, in its role in the Nonaligned Movement, and especially its position concerning East-West relations, or rather the East-West confrontation since the geostrategic position of nonaligned Yugoslavia was of particular interest to the United States. One should also add that the U.S. president found useful the correspondence with Yugoslavia's President Tito about a number of international issues, including his assessment of the situation in the socialist camp. This practice was carried over on Tito's associates. Of course, bilateral relations occupied a considerable part of the Yugoslav-U.S. dialogue, but, I would like to add, in order to, it appears, mainly serve the prime U.S. interest.

Times have changed. Washington talks to Moscow directly and on an everyday basis. Moreover, not only that it talks to Moscow, it concludes agreements of historic significance. They are exorcising their joint cold war, and relaxation is present everywhere. They are gradually demilitarizing Europe. On the other hand, the world is generally transforming itself through the peace-loving policies. Besides, the visit by Federal Secretary Budimir Loncar to Washington is taking place at a time when internal political and economic problems in Yugoslavia are significantly overshadowing its foreign policy activities.

Changes Among the Big

This is why it is not surprising that the U.S. host wanted to hear from its Yugoslav guest its assessment of events in our country, to get a clearer picture of what is happening in Yugoslavia, and still not exhaust the topics that it is interested in. Considering the complexity and seriousness of the situation in our country, which is trying to find a way out of numerous impasses, Loncar, if we are allowed to make further comparisons, was in a more delicate and most certainly less enviable situation than Minic. He did not hide the complexity of his own position of an interpreter of events in our country before us journalists who met him in New York prior to his departure for Washington, because even the top politicians and institutions in our country find them difficult to define themselves.

The impression of our journalists who met him at the airport was that on his return from Washington to New York he was in a "much better mood" because the meeting in Washington "exceeded cautious expectations." The Americans said that they want to help us, but that "we also must help ourselves." Washington told us that it does not wish to make our situation more difficult, and that it in fact wants to help us, but that the extent and method of help will, as James Bakers said, depend on Yugoslavia itself.

Different, After All

The focal point of the talks, which were assessed by our side as friendly and on equal footing, and in which the host did not want to make the impression of "exerting pressure," was the further spreading of the political and economic crisis in Yugoslavia and its concepts to overcome it. The United States supports Yugoslavia's economic reforms and it does not have any doubts about our sincere orientation toward the market economy. This is why it praises and encourages the measures of Markovic's cabinet. However, it also places emphasis on political pluralism. The Americans regret that Yugoslavia, which started reforms much earlier than other socialist countries, is now lagging behind. For instance, the American side mentioned Hungary and Poland, which will be officially visited by President Bush this summer. The officials with whom Loncar spoke expressed the hope that Yugoslavia will manage to overcome its crisis through democratic reforms based on human rights and freedoms.

At the same time, and this is what sounded to your correspondent as a warning or even as setting conditions, the U.S. officials stressed that the further development of relation will depend on democratic changes in Yugoslavia, on respecting human rights and freedoms. True, this was not presented as the exertion of pressure, but was put in a broader context, and was said that the democratic trend is spreading to entire relations in Europe and the world. Therefore, these are not their special demands from Yugoslavia, but the "joint need of all people who care about democratic progress and development." In other words, this means that their support, financial or otherwise, will only be considered if we achieve some results in the process of further political democratization, because, as we have said, they do no doubt in our market orientation. Even this aid would come only through international monetary and financial organizations and we would not receive any special treatment.

One-Sidedly on Kosovo

The Kosovo theme was treated in the context of human rights in both the State Department and the Congress. It was discussed in more detail with Senator Pell and Congressman Fascell. This is understandable because the congress initiated several resolutions (as in previous years). One of them was "moved" several days ago in the House of Representative (by Lantos, Broomfield, and Porter). This resolution expresses, among other things, "serious concern about the Yugoslav Government's continuous violation of human rights in Kosovo." A similar view, a view of more recent date, is also thought to exist in the White House.

Federal Secretary Loncar told Pell and Fascell that Yugoslavia holds a firm view that the Kosovo problems should be resolved solely in a democratic way. According to Budimir Loncar, the congress resolution, regardless of the motives of its initiators, indirectly encourages separatist elements in Kosovo and, by doing this, is contributing to the destabilization of the situation in Yugoslavia as a whole. Pell and Fascell, as we were told, expressed understanding for this stand of Yugoslavia. Your reporter is witness to the fact that so far nobody in the congress has been involved in similar actions concerning the protection of basic human rights and freedoms of Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, and other minorities in Kosovo, not even during the worst pressure by Albanian separatists, which infers double standards.

Secretary of State Baker and other officials were also interested in Yugoslavia's assessments of developments in East Europe, as well as about the developments in the Nonaligned Movement which is due to hold its summit in Belgrade. After this summit, Yugoslavia will be the chairman of the movement until next summit. The U.S. Government, it was said, is ready to welcome positive evolution in the movement. Brent Scowcroft, Bush's national security advisor, explained this with certain changes in the United States' view on the movement: "If the United States has changed its attitudes toward the USSR, why should it not change its attitudes toward the Nonaligned Movement."

In his talks with Loncar, the U.S. officials expressed the wish to continue a dialogue with the government in Belgrade, and some concrete initiatives were already discussed.

In conclusion, let us once again explain the title of your correspondent's report. Relations are, as they have been for some time, friendly and, tentatively speaking, on equal footing, but with the United States having a smaller geostrategic interest, while Yugoslavia's prolonged internal crisis has reduced its specific weight in international affairs.

Loncar Holds Talks With Ecuadoran Counterpart

LD1806152589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0955 GMT 18 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, June 18 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar was yesterday on a visit to Ecuador where he conducted talks with Ecuadorean Minister for Foreign Affairs Diego Cordovez.

The Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs said today that the talk concerned the advancement of relations between the two countries, current international issues and especially preparations for the ninth summit of the nonaligned countries in Belgrade in September.

The two sides reaffirmed the shared interest of Yugoslavia and Ecuador that the forthcoming summit should prove successful in conceiving a new role for the movement in harmony with the contemporary realities of the world as well as the efforts to streamline its own actions.

Minister Cordovez underscored that Ecuador shares the view on the necessity of the broadest possible dialogue with a view to resolving the existing imbalances in world relations which affect most nonaligned and developing countries.

The two ministers paid special attention to the debt problem and the creation of international conditions for the revival of the economies of developing countries.

Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar was received by Ecudorean President Dr Rodrigo Borja, who accepted an invitation to take part in the forthcoming summit in Belgrade. He will be the first President of Ecuador to take part in the work of the largest gathering of the nonaligned countries.

During the interchange of views on bilateral relations, both sides expressed an interest in the earliest possible determination of conditions for the further development of cooperation, above all economic.

The Ecuadorean interlocutors, it is said at the end of the statement of the Yugoslav Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, expressed the wish for Yugoslav enterprises to join in realisation of the three-year development plan of Ecuador.

Drnovsek Receives Australian Parliament Group

LD2006172989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1631 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, June 20 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and Australia are interested in further promotion of bilateral cooperation in all spheres, it was stressed in talks here on Tuesday [20 June] between Yugoslav State Presidency President Janez Drnovsek and an Australian parliamentary delegation currently on a visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of the Assembly of Yugoslavia.

The two sides underlined the contribution of Yugoslav born immigrants in Australia to intensifying ties between the two countries. President Drnovsek informed the Australian delegation about the measures taken by Yugoslavia aimed at overcoming the economic crisis.

Preparations for the ninth Nonaligned Summit in Belgrade in September, at which Australia will participate as guest, were also discussed.

BORBA Commentary on FRG-USSR Relations

AU2106110289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17-18 Jun 89 p 9

[Vlado Teslic commentary: "The Small Steps of a Great Policy"]

[Text] Someone recently assessed the Soviet leader's visit to Bonn with the following witticism—how does one accumulate the building materials for a European home: comprehensive dialogue, the creation of human rights, an exchange of youth, ecological cooperation, and nurturing of cultural relations.

Have you noticed that the Berlin Wall is not mentioned in these (construction) materials, and not even the bricks that would be acquired by knocking it down, or the unification of the two German states, or the missiles with nuclear warheads which are polluting the German backyard, European peace, and security, or even some great breakthrough in the economic scientific-technological fields. Until recently these issues occupied the key position in all the efforts to ensure better German-Soviet relations and to strengthen European peace and security.

Does this mean, in other words, that the European home could be constructed from some other "lighter"—so to speak—materials from the spiritual area of human life and relations? After all, Europeans have far more experience and joint links in this than is the case when it comes to hard materials—materials from the fields of security, politics, economics, and ideology which have dominated the European scene both before and after the Second World War.

Those who are professionally concerned with international realities and realistic relations (that is, those who respect interests, their own above all, and force, other people's most of all), will of course be skeptical about these new building materials. This has already been seen in the reactions in the West and in the East which speak more about the insurmountability of European and all other divisions.

If the ultimate aim is a "European peace order," which is one of Genscher's interesting formulae, then it is clear that this will be a long and tortuous process, but a worthwhile one, which could mobilize the wider public and achieve greater results than some other formulae from the Atlantic to the Urals. One recalls the more specific formula from the CSCE period on the coexistence of two separate Europes with small holes in the iron curtain through which people, but mainly goods would pass, but not ideologies, policies, or complete scientific-technological processes.

"Bundes-Gorbi"

It was to a certain extent inevitable that this new step forward in unifying Europe began in Germany and that its "godfathers" were the FRG and the USSR. Europe was divided because of Germany after all, not only because of this country's role in the last war which cannot be forgotten but also because of everything that was intended for that country after the war—a security zone for the USSR and a "bridgehead" for the United States with the aim of exerting pressure on the USSR.

Indeed, the FRG has occasionally sought ways out of the unpleasant situation in which they were placed by the Allies and Moscow. With the building of bridges with the West in which Bonn received the support of Moscow, but strictly limited support, and always in the contexts of the USSR's inviolable strategic interests, there were attempts at making Germany into something like a buffer state on the border with the West.

At that time, the contradictions of the FRG's unnatural position in the Atlantic alliance were intensified. Even though it had grown into an economic diva of world importance, even in the economic field, the FRG began to feel the uncomfortable sides of its inadequate political position as a "dwarf," which was what it was most often described. Increasing calls from the EEC and especially pressure from the United States to help the financial and economic stabilization of the United States led to wide dissatisfaction in the FRG. This "erupted" however in the military field when it became clear to the Germans that the Russians no longer represented a direct military danger and when they realized that the Allies intended the FRG to have the role of their nuclear buffer zone.

What Kohl and Gorbachev signed is in fact a new type of important political platform, less as a sign of political discussion on ambivalent issues of security, peace, and cooperation and more as an indicator of the changing world which the two countries have something to offer. It seems that the declaration emerged above all from people and their aspirations rather than from the states and their traditional preoccupations about security and borders.

All in all, this is perhaps not a defined concept of a new peace order but it is definitely an important step in that direction. Great politics and great changes begin from small steps.

Us Yugoslavs....

Where do we Yugoslavs see ourselves in these small steps of great politics? Some people will say that we are nowhere and some others will be revolted at the escalation of some of our actions and our expressions of support for either Europe or humanism and human freedoms (in the world).

Our trouble is that we go from one extreme to the other and that we are greatly hindered on the international stage by our divisions and internal iron curtains, economic worries, and sometimes ideological prejudices, and often by the willingness to hastily accept all trends in the world, not only humane and freedom-loving trends but also politically and ideologically retrograde ones.

As an example of chaotic thoughts and stands, let us cite our debate on the recent visit by a European Parliament commission which we invited to (legally) analyze the accusations from Strasbourg concerning the violation of human rights in Kosovo, which it did mainly by being interested in the fate of the arrested Albanians.

If we reject the quite unfounded suspicion that someone deliberately invited them in order to use them to strengthen their own arguments concerning what is happening in Kosovo, we are left with differences that are not the only ones when it comes to other countries and Yugoslavia. Why would we agree with them on everything and why would they suspect in advance someone's good-intentions or objectivity! The European Parliament is after all only one of the consultative bodies of European public opinion.

It seems that the essence of the problem is in the fact that we Yugoslavs are lacking in several essential factors of communication with the world. We do not have public, democratic, opinion, we do not have polarized democratic views and stands (and when we do have them then we have no moderation in them), and those people who are in charge of public relations do not have proper and well-regulated relations with the public. And we do not have what adorned our propaganda and state policy in Tito's time—the ability to react quickly and to have direct contacts with the main sources of the leading idea and stand—the ability for Yugoslavia to fight for humane and more just relations in the world, for democratic relations and progress. Let us add that that platform is far more comprehensive than the one with which Gorbachev is raging through Europe and setting it on fire, supported by restructuring [Russian word "perestroyka" used] and glasnost.

It seems that some comments that were made in recent days about our official stands on the events in China and also about the writing of the press are justified. Neither is there any room for exaggerated restraint or any justification for ignorance, nor for bias in condemning everything that is happening in that country without getting into specificities or without respecting what Kissinger called international realities.

The democratization of the public is indisputable and it is definitely a great achievement of our political life which we will have to preserve and nurture and which can help us a lot in correcting our shaky "image" in the world.

It will of course be much more difficult to keep step with new European and world processes, but only with those which move forward. Therefore the question of whether this will be the Yugoslavia that will join Europe or which will remain nonaligned is quite academic because both are not disputable nor in mutual conflict.

Central Committee Commission Debates Statute

LD1906202489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1344 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 19 Jun (TANJUG)—It can no longer be said that Communists are people of a special mold, nor that the party is made up of "holy men" of the revolution. The LC [League of Communists] has prospects only as a modern organization which is based on the traditional interests of the workers' movement and insists on social reforms, it was stressed in the debate at today's session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Commission for Preparing Draft Ideopolitical Bases for Changes and Addenda to the LCY Statute. [passage omitted]

The Central Committee should be the highest forum of the LCY but by changes to the Statute, its obligations and not only its rights should be more clearly defined. There are also proposals that the number of members of the Central Committee be reduced to be "under 100," and the view is increasingly being expressed that in future the president of the LCY Central Committee should be elected—and with a mandate lasting longer than 1 year.

The party membership fee should be retained, but there are also views that it could be treated as "a voluntary contribution of citizens." [passage omitted]

LCY Body Discusses 'Evil Intentions' in Media

AU2006134789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jun 89 p 5

[D. Bisenic report: "A Lack of Moderation, A Plethora of Intentions"]

[Text] Belgrade, 14 June—The propaganda war which we are all supposedly against is still continuing on the public stage and it has a good, that is to say, dangerous chance of continuing and causing further damage,

warned Gordana Zdravkovic, secretary of the Commission for Information Activity of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], at today's session of the commission. The commission discussed and adopted a program of propaganda activity prior to the Congress, thus breaking the silence that had recently prevailed in party activities. True, it was said that party activity has not faded away or stopped but the media has not devoted the required attention to it to a sufficient extent but has dealt with other subjects.

They Are Not Banned

The question nevertheless is, why, at the height of preparations for the congress when the document on the LCY reform is being discussed by the public, certain newspapers favor as a media tip among the Yugoslav public only subjects concerning the recent past, like the LCY Fourth Plenum, relations in the leadership, and the rehabilitation of individuals, said Gordana Zdravkovic. She added that these are not banned subjects and that with the further democratization of social relations we will probably come face to face with the most varied analyses and truths, however, this will have to be done in a different way to now. This means more comprehensively, based on science, for the sake of the truth and historical lessons, and not to the advantage of petty quarrels and unprincipled confrontations.

Propaganda against the Yugoslav Communist orientation is at work today, stressed Zoran Udovicic. In this respect he asked what is happening with the document on the transformation of the LCY which went into the grassroots and there has been no reactions to it whatsoever. It is necessary to consider what will be the starting point of the debate at the 14th congress as it is becoming increasingly obvious that most people look on the scope of the congress with clear distrust while at the same time look on their "own congresses" with great optimism. Udovicic insisted that one should not think about scrapping the joint television newscast which had been painstakingly achieved.

Concluding the debate, Marko Lolic, president of the commission, also dealt with the "flood of newspaper rehabilitations." Dealing with these subjects should not bring into question all the historical achievements of the head people in the revolution. It is obvious that there is a lack of moderation in some texts, as well as evil intentions, and even cases of lynching. It is necessary to analyze these subjects objectively, respecting the views of all the protagonists of earlier political events without manipulation and viewpoints from only one perspective or in only one interest. Nowadays there is no reason to be ashamed of our revolution or of any of its stages headed by Tito.

The current flood of one-sided questions from the past not only creates opportunities for manipulation and lethal political activity but also sometimes brings into question the whole process of rehabilitating some people. Therefore, a group was recently set up in the LCY Central Committee Presidium which will be concerned with those issues which have been especially topical among the public recently, said Lolic.

The Future of KOMUNIST

In the debate on the future of the KOMUNIST LCY organs, it was stressed that this newspaper suffers to a great extent from all the negative elements that are present in the LCY itself. However, In the atmosphere of political pluralism regardless of whether it will be in the framework of the Socialist Alliance of Working People or set up as a multiparty model, the League of Communists will need a daily newspaper so that it will be able to successfully present its ideas and compete with other political organizations.

Milan Rakas stressed that the decision on the present organization of the newspaper, which would have nine editions, was taken at the height of the greatest federalization of the LCY. At that time there was talk of a single newspaper with several editions and it can now be said that this is not a question of nine editions but of nine newspapers. Rakas proposed a return to a single edition.

Lenart Setinc stressed that KOMUNIST must be able to present all important facts, including the minority view on the basis of the unity of professional, editorial, and ethnic norms. In his opinion, the concept of the KOMUNIST model is a question of the concept of the LCY model. "I would not agree that we are returning to the time of 30 years ago but it seems to me generally that the times of before 30 years ago are returning. Whoever thinks that this time can return, is seriously deceiving himself and this mistake will be very costly for him," stressed Setinc.

Assembly Delegates Elect Vukotic Member of FEC

AU1906203589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jun 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Dr Veselin Vukotic Becomes a Member of the Federal Executive Council"]

[Text] Today, at a joint session of both chambers of the SFRY Assembly the delegates unanimously elected Dr Veselin Vukotic (Montenegro) as a member of the Federal Executive Council. The new member of the Federal Executive Council took the oath in front of the delegates.

Milorad Sredanovic (Vojvodina) was elected a member of the Federal Chamber.

SAWPY President Discusses Political Pluralism

AU2006113189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10-11 Jun 89 p 5

[Report on interview with Jelena Milojevic, president of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, by Bojana Oprijan Ilic and Jovan Radovanovic: "Return to People"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] The Socialist Alliance must above all be a democratic forum, a place where different opinions can be heard. We are ready and we will try our best to open our forum to new views, alternatives, and neo-orthodox views, as well as to the institutionalization of the right to a different opinion. The basic problem of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People [SAWP] of Yugoslavia does not lie in accepting political pluralism as the basis of organizing, but in searching for the forms and ways of expressing different political interests in our socialist self-managing society.

This is how in an interview for BORBA Jelena Milojevic, who was recently elected president of the Federal Conference of the SAWP, announced a new step of the people's parliament toward the world of real needs and tendencies. The motives for a more substantive discussion about pluralism and about the SAWP's current work, its transmission character, organization, alienation, and plans are the unanimous and increasingly frequent calls for the transformation of this largest front organization, as well as the "heated" discussions on the new models of organizing under its auspices. [passage omitted]

[Question] To what extent will the announced reform of the SAWP transform the organization in terms of being an open place which offers equal opportunities for the affirmation of traditional and new political subjects? What do you think should be done to make the SAWP more attractive to the membership at large?

[Milojevic] The reform of the SAWP must resolve the question of membership and place even more emphasis on individual members and their full emancipation. We have not set up a commission for reforms yet and in this respect we are late, but we will seriously work on reforms during this summer and fall. According to the Constitution, the SAWP has a supervisory function, but who does it supervise, the delegates and assemblies or the state? If we strive for affirmation and revival we must succeed in making the citizens supervise the state through the SAWP, rather than let the state supervise them. Of course, the essential question is how to create space in the SAWP for new ideas, initiative, the expression of pluralism of interests, as well as for political pluralism.

Therefore, our aim is to open ourselves completely. The SAWP can establish this position only by exerting more influence on decisionmaking in Assembly and by performing a more consistent supervisory role. Our chance also lies in the struggle for the freedom of action. Our political system has tried to institutionalize and clearly define all political initiatives. This is normal from the point of view of the state, but not from the point of view of political trends, especially when we are trying to define what we now call nonparty political pluralism. The stress in our endeavor and our reforms should really be on the right of all strata of society to have autonomy in conducting their social and political activities. One should develop all forms of real activities, not only political activity. One must also make sure that all initiatives that arrive in the SAWP, initiatives that are discussed and used for making stands and conclusions, do in fact arrive where decisions are made. I above all have in mind the assemblies of sociopolitical communities.

Legalization of Political Pluralism

[Question] During the discussions on the renewal and revitalization of the Socialist Alliance and its role, there was also mention of legalizing political pluralism "under the umbrella" of this largest front organization. What constitutional changes are needed to transform the Socialist Alliance in this respect? Moreover, considering the obvious differences in the positions, activities, and even the "modes" of the republican SAWP organizations, where in your opinion does the "formula" for the federal conference lie?

[Milojevic] I would not say "under the umbrella," but under the auspices of the SAWP. This is something different. The SAWP must not at any price admit all new alliances and in this way enable them to become legal. In this respect all the statutes of the SAWP are very restrictive and clearly show what conditions need to be fulfilled by a particular organization to become a member of the SAWP. We must fight for the freedom of ideas and opinions. Only the plethora of ideas can produce a clearly crystalized political thought about the future of our society. The Socialist Alliance clearly supports the democratization of society. We have opted for the freedom of thought. Let us, for instance, recall that following the appeal of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights for verbal offenses to be abolished, the SFRY Presidency pardoned all people convicted on basis of Article 133 of the Criminal Law.

We are, of course, ready to respect different views, but in Yugoslavia there are many things concerning ethnic relations that need to be protected from excessive criticism. We are witnessing the fact that the lack of accountability for public statements has obviously reached worrying proportions and can only be compared with the lack of accountability for public acts: joined together these two things could cause further damage which, in terms of its economic and political effects, would be approximately equal to the damage whose traces can be seen everywhere around us.

In fact, pluralism must be a democratic discourse about contradictions and antipodes in society. However, whenever we talk about pluralism, we are continuously moving within the sphere of politics. This sphere is obviously given too much prominence and affects our entire life. This is why we in the Socialist Alliance must not only critically reexamine new ideas and forms of political pluralism, but must also reexamine the work of the current political and economic system.

As regards the Constitution, it is certain that we will need a different definition of the SAWP. I think that the reform of the SAWP must be seen from two aspects: a long-term one, so that we know what kind of SAWP we want. This can only be done through constitutional changes. The other aspect is the short-term aspect through which we can see what is being changed in the SAWP to make it become more modern and more dynamic. This would be done within the current constitutional provisions. Therefore, before we adopt the new constitution we must make certain changes in the SAWP in order to make it more flexible and more open so that it can reject the obsolete and accept new things, in both the method of work and in its organization. It is important that through this reorganization we ensure the creation of a more rational system and rid ourselves of parallelism in the work of sociopolitical organizations. It is obvious that the work on these changes will last a long time, but we cannot postpone it any longer.

As far as differences in the work of the republican SAWP organizations are concerned, I am of the opinion that every community must have an organization which will suit its interests and aspirations. Of course, the Federal Conference should not be an arbiter in this, but must, proceeding from its programs, consider those issues that would be of interest to all. There is no other way but to accept the best initiatives from each community and build them in our methods of work. This diversity is in fact an advantage.

In reforming the SAWP we will certainly try to play a more active role in overcoming social conflicts and political confrontations. We are all aware of the fact that we are not a conflict-free society, but neither are we an indifferent society. In order to take a more active role in solving social problems, the Socialist Alliance must not remain "irresponsible" and incompetent because this is not contained in its program. We must work much more than before on making the Socialist Alliance capable of politically analyzing social trends and through its work preparing suitable solutions and a course of action.

Leadership's Responsibility

When we talk about the expressed confrontations and disagreements, I am convinced that this is a matter of a clash between leaderships and that, seen in historical context, this is a natural consequence of the general economic and social crisis. I assert that leadership should bear the greatest responsibility to overcome the already obvious differences.

[Question] What if the leaderships are in fact maintaining their positions precisely on the basis of these clashes?

[Milojevic] If this is the case, I suppose that democratic elections will lead to the top posts will being filled by those cadres who favor progress. I believe that the people will be sensible enough not to elect those who are against synthesis, togetherness, and dialogue. In my view this is a realistic assumption. [passage omitted]

Minister Mirjanic Reacts to Wheat Price Protests

LD2106230589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1612 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, June 21 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Minister for Agriculture Dr Stevio Mirjanic said today that the dissatifaction of peasants with this year's official wheat price of 3,000 dinars per kilo set by the government is unjustified. He said that he was puzzled at the dissatifaction, adding that this year's wheat could not be bought below this price, but that the market price will certainly be higher.

He said that 11,500 billion dinars will be needed for this year's wheat purchase and that only 3,000 billion has so far been ensured.

He said that it is still not known where the rest of the money will come from.

Mirjanic said that peasants' demands that the value of their work be recognized through the price of agricultural products are justified. He noted that there is no doubt that prices should cover not only the basic costs. But that they also must generate a portion of income to be invested in new production cycles. Mirjanic also said that he agreed that farmers should not be the only ones whose task is to protect living standards, but that this must also become the responsibility of the food processing industry and trade.

Peasants who held a protest rally in Vojvodina's capital of Novi Sad yesterday said they would no longer tolerate that others create agrarian policy on their behalf, adding they would set up a Yugoslav peasants' union.

They made a number of ultimatums to the Yugoslav government, urging it to make a list of products of strategic importance, introduce measures to protect living standards and provide funds to finance these measures.

They also gave the government until before the start of this year's harvest to re-examine its decision and set a new official wheat price and protect the agricultural imports. They also demanded that the Federal Parliament adopt a law on agrarian budget.

Postal, Telecommunications Prices Rise 64 Percent
LD2106225189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1012 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Summary] Belgrade, 21 Jun (TANJUG)—Domestic postal and telecommunications services will go up in price from tomorrow by 64 percent, it was announced by the community of Yugoslav post and telecommunications organizations. It had been planned to increase the price of services by 81.6 percent on the 15th of this month, but on the recommendation of the Federal Exectutive Council the decision was postponed by a week and the percentage by which prices were raised was decreased.

Kucan Views Political Pluralism, 'New Chance'
LD1606112389 Bengrade TANJUG in English 1023 GMT 16 Jun 89

[Text] Ljubljana, June 16 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) is no longer the sole political force in the country. Political pluralism has already stepped on the scene and suitable forms of its expression are currently being sought—Milan Kucan, the president of the league of Communists of Slovenia, Yugoslavia's most developed republic, said.

Political pluralism is no danger, but a new chance for the country, said Kucan in last night's "Voice of Ljubljana" radio programme.

Noting that Yugoslavia has opted for non-party pluralism, he urged a thorough reform of the political system. In his view, the real danger for Yugoslavia lies in attempts to maintain the one- party monopoly.

Kucan said that Slovenian communists want a break of the historically conditioned "marriage" of the state and the party, as the League of Communists leading role, guaranteed in advance, has done great harm both to the party and to society as a whole. This does not mean that the League of Communists is renouncing its own influence on social development, he specified, but that power is based on a political programme upheld by the majority and the organization's ability to implement t by democratic means.

The option to hold general, direct elections by secret ballot next year reflects "a higher desire for democracy", Kucan said. He also noted that the forthcoming changes in the federal Constitution which will have to answer the question of whether Yugoslavia wishes a parliamentary or a presidential system, are of great importance to a democratization of the election procedure.

On Yugoslavia joining the European Community, Kucan said that the country should do everything to be accepted by Europe and that it must accept this European regional organization. He acknowledged, however, that Yugoslavia is currently unable to live up to the European criteria and standards, adding that it is therefore completely irrelevant whether or not political conditions exist at present its joining the EC.

Commentary on 'Most Important' Kucan Speech
AU2106120289 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 20 Jun 89 p 5

[Boris Jez commentary: "Messages From Tacen"]

[Text] Milan Kucan's Tacen speech probably opens the denouement of the biggest post-war political clash in Yugoslavia, which is outwardly manifested chiefly in the unprecedented war of words between Belgrade and Ljubljana. In Tacen, Kucan did not merely reject any further bargaining in connection with Slovenia, but he also directly said that he intends to go all the way in the struggle for democratic interethnic relations in the state and for "more friendly" socialism.

What seems particularly important at this moment is the resolve with which the president of the Slovene party organization rejected any possibility of an unequal dialogue in Yugoslavia. Those analyzing his speech probably noticed that he was applauded by some Communists whom some political diagnosticians named as so-called "sound forces," and this may be significant. The conclusions of the Tacen gathering are important, because previously there has been no specific resolution but only many empty nice words at party gatherings. Considering some of the Tacen conclusions, an accidental foreign observer could not be quite sure whether he has to do with a party in power or in opposition.

The Tacen speech is by far most important because of the reservations that Milan Kucan displayed toward the Yugoslav party organization as such. According to him, the present League of Communists of Yugoslavia does not convince one that it stands on a free thinking and principled level, and that it is able to be a cohesive force with a democratic concept. "Thus all our reserve about this meeting and our participation at it," Kucan said, explaining the resolve of the Slovene Communists that they will not let themselves be scolded and punished at the extraordinary congress like some naughty schoolchildren.

Several signals have come from the Slovene party organization indicating that in an extreme case they are even willing to boycott the extraordinary congress, but in a sense, Kucan in his Tacen speech presented an ultimatum: either the congress will be democratic and a dialogue on an equal footing will be possible, or the League of Communists of Slovenia will not attend! The Slovene Party president did not simply brandish the specter of extremely tense interethnic relations, but also warned that he wants to talk about all the global problems of the Yugoslav community. In other words, the Slovene Communists will not go to the congress with modest ambitions, but they want to clear up there what sort of

socialism Yugoslavia wants to embark upon; if the differences in the view about the future are too great, one should even part, Kucan said in the key passage of his speech.

Belgrade POLITIKA on Monday [19 June] carried only a few lines on this event, which of course does not mean that in other places, and especially in Belgrade, the Kucan message has not been "registered." It is to be expected that they will shortly let fly at him from all barrels, because he even staked the unity of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the game, which for the "traditionalists" is of course heresy of the worst kind. The Slovene Party president was simply forced to take this step; the domestic and Yugoslav public finally had to be told that human and national interests exist that are objectively much more important than any "revolutionary internationalism."

In this connection one should ask whether the Yugoslav party organization is actually not in a process of decomposition, which Milan Kucan in Tacen only formalized through his "conditions for attendance." Anyhow, a unified League of Communists of Yugoslavia is a pure illusion in a so-called asymmetric federation, which in its own admission is being implemented also (or even primarily!) in Serbia. One will slowly have to face the truth that the time of "great internationalist systems"—and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is in some sense such—has definitely passed. The League of Communists also cannot be the decisive cohesive factor in Yugoslavia; if there are no other, stronger interests to link the Yugoslav peoples in a joint state, one should deeply ponder this fact.

Anyhow, in the present political conflict, Milan Kucan and the League of Communists of Slovenia have decided to stake everything, which perhaps appears to be political adventurism, but in fact they could not do anything else. It is to be hoped that the very obvious message that the president of the Slovene party organization addressed to all those who are prepared to sacrifice not only the unity of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia but even more, will act at least as a cold shower to sober them up. Or will even the unequivocal messages from Tacen, from which one should clearly see the limits up to which it is possible to poke into national integrity and pride, be a new occasion for a hysterical campaign against everything that comes from the "Slovene land"?

Slovene Calls for Congress Boycott Examined

AU2106122489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jun 89 p 13

[Milan Jaksic commentary reprinted from Zagreb VJESNIK: "The Congress Without the Slovenes?"—no date given]

[Text] It is our wish to take away the monopoly of the party which would reduce it to creative-ideological forms for modern socialist development so that, in reflecting in practical terms its different role in society, we then give this same party an even more crucial significance than it has had so far. How else can one interpret the disputes over the new model of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], which often go to extremes? Recently, this has most often occurred between the Serbian and Slovene party leaderships. Agreement is only reached when there is talk of the de-monopolization of the League of Communists [LC]. But as soon as talks are conducted on the way in which the party should be deprived of its sacred power, the differences become great. They are now cast in concrete to such an extent that one can hear increasing proposals from Slovenia for a boycott of the 14th LCY Congress by the Slovene party organization if the attempts to introduce majoritarianism in the LCY are not sorted out in a principled way before the congress. The Slovenes are energetically opposing majoritarianism and supporting consensus in the LC as well. Joze Smole, president of the Slovene Socialist Alliance, recently reiterated the Slovene stands on this problem in an interview for the Austrian weekly, WOCHENPRESSE. Without stressing the communist organization but making clear allusions to its influence, Smole said the following: "The federal organs should not be subservient to the republics and the problems of the federation can only be resolved through consensus. Therefore one should resist decisions that are made on the basis of majoritarianism because the principle of the equality of peoples would thereby be brought into question." In reply to the question of whether this involves majoritarianism by Serbia, he replied that the fact the Serbian population is the biggest leads to centralistic aspirations. "I am not claiming that the Serbian party leadership wants this. I am only warning of the dangers which emerge from centralization and violent simplification," added Smole. Not long after Smole spoke these words and after similar statements by the official Slovene party leadership with which the party membership itself is increasingly in agreement, official Serbian party officials again reacted to them. It is therefore necessary to recall the debate at the recently held session of the Commission for the Transformation of the LC of the Central Committee of the Serbian LC in which the introductory speaker, Ratomir Vico said among other things that the Serbian LC found unacceptable the proposals that supported the legalization of the federalization of the LC or even the consolidation of federalism as far as confederalism in the LCY. In the first place this involves the introduction of consensus when stands are taken in the LCY and its leadership. Together with the absolutization of the parity principle, this would mean turning the LC into some kind of information bureau or a coordination body, and this would be the end of the LCY as a united organization. Dr Vladimir Stambuk, executive secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Serbian LC, stressed in an interview for POLITIKA EKSPRES: "The right place for coordinating the pluralism of ideas is self-management and its further processes and then the state organs, the Socialist Alliance, and the Trade Union, under the condition that they ensure a democratic and well-argued debate on

every issue. The LC must extract the essence from all of this. If it allows its own de-monopolization, the LC will no longer decide on who is right and who is not and whose interests are the most pressing and whose should be pushed to one side in both the sociopolitical system and in life."

On the one hand, therefore, we have theoretical suppositions which cannot be objected to and on the other, we have practical viewpoints which are obviously in accord with our party (or general political) realities. This is what the fear of majoritarianism stems from, because the Slovenes doubt that the LCY could be transformed so quickly that it could remove the danger of outvoting. The direction in which such disputes could develop can most easily be judged on the basis of the virtually collective Slovene disquiet, expressed even in the demands for a boycott of the 14th congress. Since the congress is not far off, it is therefore high time for the the entire LCY to become involved in these disputes.... One should therefore establish precisely where the roots of such dangerous disputes are since we were faced with important party decisions, without having first cleared up all the circumstances that brought us into this situation. Let us hope that the pre-congress discussions will nevertheless neutralize this feeling of hopelessness.

Slovene Alternative Starts Independent Paper

AU2106154689 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] The editorial board and the representatives of several alliances have presented to the press and the Slovene public at large the first independent issue of a new biweekly, DEMOKRACIJA. Gojko Brvar reports:

It is actually still a question whether it will be a biweekly because the founders—for formal reasons they are, for the time being, a group of citizens—say that it will be only now, before the vacations [words indistinct]. Afterward, the new newspaper may appear every week.

The Slovene Democratic Alliance, the chief editor Dimitrij Rupel, and all the other alliances that the newspaper is open to, are supposed to have founded an independent newspaper. France Bucar explained independence with independence from the state, from official truths, dogmas, and taboos, to which all the public information media presently appearing are apparently subjected to [words indistinct].

Right from the beginning, DEMOKRACIJA is facing the classic Slovene difficulties. Reproaches were already made today that the Slovene Democratic Alliance has not yet admitted any representatives—or perhaps we should say, the proper representatives—of other alliances to the editorial board.

Now that the formalities are over, the basic problem is the financial framework for the newspaper that should initially have a circulation of 15,000 copies and should be sold through a special distribution service under the auspices of Kranj GORENJSKI GLAS, which has initially extended its financial support to the entire project. It is clear to DEMOKRACIJA editors that the Kranj enterprise will not be able to extend its support forever, even if the publication of DEMOKRACIJA adds to the prestige of GORENJSKI GLAS, as its director Stefan (Zargi) believes. Therefore they propose the founding of a joint stock company, and enterprise that would ensure a regular publication of the newspaper in the future.

The first issue of DEMOKRACIJA is in fact the fourth, because three previous issues have been published as supplements to GORENJSKI GLAS as part of their open pages.

DELO Comments on Slovene Visit to Macedonia

AU2106151189 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 20 Jun 89 p 1

["Topic of the Day" commentary by Danilo Slivnik: "Significant Journey"]

[Text] With his journey to Skopje yesterday, where he (and his associates) met the Macedonian party leadership, Milan Kucan runs the risk of being accused by the most aggressive advocates of "order and hierarchy" in the party of creating some "unprincipled coalitions in the League of Communists [LC] of Yugoslavia." However, because the times are no longer for naive people, as Kucan himself said at the party celebration in Tacen on Saturday [17 June], such remarks are no longer important, but it is particularly important that a dialogue be again established in the LC of Yugoslavia, a dialogue that the violent behavior of the representatives of the so-called "antibureaucratic revolution" and suspicious "majority will" have completely prevented in the past few months.

Of course one cannot resolve anything with a single journey, especially because deep differences exist in views on Yugoslavia and its future even within the several republican leaderships, but the meeting in Skopje yesterday (similar meetings are also announced between the Slovene party leadership and the representatives of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia) probably ended the worst political nightmare in the LC of Yugoslavia. This nightmare caused the entire organization to spend months searching for "internal enemies" and adopting strange "differentiations," and exhausted itself in demonstrating its "federal adherence...." It must be clear to everybody that no republican party leadership can appropriate the LC of Yugoslavia and push all others who do not agree with it to the sidelines.

The Slovene LC thus only confirmed yesterday that it is a completely equal part of the Yugoslav party and that it will work for the renewal of the latter in the way that the circumstances and its interests dictate. This is quite certainly a significant step in its thinking which is

perhaps more important because it was taken immediately after the "program" speech by its leader on Saturday. After a long time it thus made it known that obviously something is changing in those most controversial matters, the "transition from words to deeds...."

Kosovo Special Measures To Remain in Effect
LD2206015989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2049 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, June 21 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav State Presidency today assessed that the special measures, which were introduced in late February because of a revolt by ethnic Albanian separatists, should remain in the province of Kosovo.

The immediate cause for the introduction of these measures was a massive strike by workers of Albanian nationality, who are a majority population in the province. The strike is considered as just one element of the separatist strategy, whose final aim is the secession of Kosovo from Yugsolavia and its joining to neighbouring Albania.

On the basis of information from the respective federal and provincial organs, and the organs of the Republic of Serbia (within which Kosovo has its autonomy), the Yugoslav Presidency assessed that the situation in the province is gradually becoming normal, but that the situation is still serious in some environments. This assessment was the reason why the special measures will remain.

The Presidency decided to discuss the situation in Kosovo again soon and, depending on the course of the stabilization process, eventually to decide about the lifting of some or all of the special measures.

The Yugoslav leadership decided to pardon 36 condemned persons. The four men sentenced in Ljubljana for revealing military secrets, however, are not among them.

The Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia recently asked the State Presidency to pardon the four Slovenes (Sargeant-Major Ivan Borstner and Journalists Janez Jansa, David Tasic, and Franci Zavrl), sentenced to from five months to four years in prison for disclosing military secrets.

The State Presidency assessed that there "are no essential new circumstances" on the basis of which it should re-examine its stand not to pardon the four men.

Milosevic Heads Kosovo Battle Anniversary Group
LD2106230389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1457 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Jun (TANJUG)—Today delegates of the Serbian Assembly elected Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, as president of the Committee to Mark the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo.

Zoran Sokolovic, president of the Serbian Assembly, was elected President of the Commission for Constitutional Issues of the Assembly.

Ckrebic Speaks on Serbian Constitution Changes
AU2206085689 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jun 89 p 8

[J. Danilovic report: "Constitutional Changes in Serbia Have Created Conditions for Firmer Connections in the Economy"]

[Text] Vrsac, 15 Jun—On his way to Romania, Dusan Ckrebic, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Yugoslavia, briefly stopped over in Vrsac where he met the highest political leaders of the town and community. Aleksandar Mak, vice president of the Executive Council of the Vrsac Communal Assembly, spoke about economic trends in this South Banat commune and Ljubisav Sljivic, president of the LC Communal Committee Presidium, spoke on the political situation. Sljivic pointed out that a significant cadre renewal was carried out in communal sociopolitical organizations and that created conditions for a quicker development of the Vrsac commune which had been abandoned in the past.

Constitutional changes in the Socialist Republic of Serbia have created realistic chances for forming firmer connections in the economic sphere, Ckrebic said addressing the people present. In the past, Vojvodina made efforts to ensure statehood and economic self-sufficiency, something that nobody can do today. Now, however, all conditions for the unity in all spheres in life of the republic, and, above all, conditions for integration processes in the Serbian economy, have been created. Because all other links are short-lived. For example, people from Vrsac should establish connections with the Trstenik Prva Petoletka Organization because it is one of the rare collectives that realize every program in less than a year. There is also the possibility to establish links with the Kragujevac Crvena Zastava Factory, the Nis Electronic Factory, and other collectives. One should take advantage of the good political atmosphere in the republic and create firmer links in the economic sphere.

Vrsac leaders expressed interest in the reorganization of banks in the republic and Dusan Ckrebic said that there are plans to connect two systems—the Associated Bank of Belgrade and Jugobanka. "We shall overcome territorial divisions through market reasoning." The guest spoke about the measures of the Federal Executive Council and pointed out that no government so far, including Ante Markovic's government, had a specific anti-inflationary program "probably being afraid of inevitable 'shock-therapies' and the consequences of drastic austerity measures."

If we manage to curb the inflation in the second half of this year, as it is being announced, the 14th congress, which will not be one congress in the succession [kongres

kontinuiteta], but an extraordinary congress, will be held in a more peaceful political atmosphere. Since the last congress, inflation and the burden on the economy have been increasing. Most efforts have remained without results, because the reform was partial and did not involve changes in the political system, Ckrebic said.

Touching upon voices of support for a multiparty system, he said that political pluralism is possible within a well-organized Socialist Alliance and that multiparty system has shown all its negative sides in our country in the past.

Ckrebic also spoke on Yugoslavia's readiness to pay installments on its foreign debts and stressed that the strengthening of economic links with both the West and the East is necessary for Yugoslavia and Serbia. In this connection he mentioned the construction of the gas pipeline between the USSR and Yugoslavia being a way to pay $2.3 billion the USSR owes Yugoslavia.

A full political unity has been created in Serbia and now our republic has the feeling of being equal with others in Yugoslavia, Ckrebic went on to say. The Constitution enabled Serbia to function within the Federation. It was a very sad thing that the exercise "Banat defense in winter conditions" was held in Vojvodina a couple of years ago and that Serbian leadership knew nothing about that. I was president of the Serbian Presidency then and protested very sharply. Should we develop such a system in which every commune will defend itself alone? This has been overcome and those people who claim that the provinces have lost their independence do not have good intentions.

Ckrebic said that Serbia is justifiedly concerned about its people living in neighboring countries, although this is the problem of every country and every country is solving it itself. According to him, this problem exists in Romania, Bulgaria, and Greece.

Albanian Writer's Letter to President Drnovsek

AU2206091489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jun 89 p 3

[Open letter from Jusuf Budzovi to Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency; "When the State and the Party Are Twins"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 18 Jun—Respected Comrade President, In your letter that was published in Ljubljana DELO you wrote that "the isolation of people, no matter how many, is a measure is a heavy burden not only on those who have been isolated but on all of us" and that the Presidency had been informed that "the isolation measure applied to only the minimal number of people and it would very soon cease to be applicable even to these." In your letter, as in your interview for the West German SPIEGEL, you support a law-governed state and consistent adherence to the Constitution and the law but also the efficiency of all institutions of the system.

Regretfully I am stating that a law-governed state has not operated in Kosovo for quite a long time. This happens because the norms that are specified by the Constitution and the laws which stem from the Constitution and which were legally passed in 1971 and even earlier, have been replaced to a great extent by party stands and political working drafts and numerous resolutions and conclusions which are regularly adopted from one session to a another. The Party which should provide ideological and political bases for realizing constitutionality and legality have contributed to the scrapping of law-governed power. I think that the previous SFRY Presidency bears much of the guilt and responsibility for allowing the party to take over the leadership of the state and for even specifying who can be employed and when, who can become the manager of which enterprise and when, who can be selected as delegates and when, who can manage the information media, who can sit in one or other armchair and when, who can write a book and when, and what should be said in discussion forums. It has even made decisions on who would be imprisoned and when and who would be prosecuted and when! At the present time, the party is deciding "for the sake of stabilizing the whole situation" who should be dismissed from a job, who should be chosen for self-managing organs, and so on.

Can We Speak About a Law-Governed State?

Comrade President, can the law-governed state and the constitutionality that you advocate exist, therefore, if people in Kosovo are called to account for stating their opinion of the constitutional debate? Can a law-governed state exist, therefore, if anyone in our country who has repeated, paraphrased, or quoted any writer or book that has been published in another part of the state on some topical issue can be prosecuted? Can a free law-governed state exist if Albanian intellectuals are deprived of every opportunity for expressing any free thought in the media in the Albanian language? Can we speak about a law-governed state and democracy if someone can be prosecuted regardless, just because he sent a letter to some newspaper in the state in which a view is expressed that is different from the view of party members? Can a law-governed state exist where someone's past dossiers from a long time ago are leafed through because one of his distant relatives was proclaimed an "irredentist"? Is this a law-governed state if an 18-year old cannot enroll at a university if one of his distant relatives was somehow involved in a dispute with the state or the party? Can we speak about a law-governed state if someone has been given, through no fault of his own, the name of some person whose name someone else has proclaimed as "inciting nationalistic associations"? Can a law-governed state exist if someone receives offers and if all doors to employment are open to him simply because he is a member of a certain people?

I Am Not Afraid For My Own Fate

Even if you have only glanced through the papers recently you could have seen what has happened to the

signatories of the appeal made by 215 Albanian intellectuals. Without a scrap of compassion, they are being thrown out of the party, dismissed from their jobs, and many will no doubt end up in prison. The Presidium of the Communal Committee of the Pristina League of Communists (because of the powers which were given to it with the special measures) has proclaimed the free thought expressed by the Albanian intellectuals in the constitutional debate as a "political pamphlet" and "unconstitutional activity" for the "destruction of Yugoslavia." If someone in Kosovo is marked in such a way, you can imagine what kind of position he will find himself in.

As a signatory of the appeal, I am not offended because the Presidium of the Communal Committee of the Pristina League of Communists expelled me from the League of Communists, called me an "enemy," and so on (I was born in 1946 and grew up in a socialist community), but I am offended because party activists are trying to offend my human and intellectual dignity with different threats. In this respect they have even tried to persuade me that I have exploited the constitutional right to freedom and democratic expression of thought for the "destruction of Yugoslavia"! I think that even in Biafra they would respect a freely expressed opinion in a debate which proclaims itself to be democratic without anyone being prosecuted for their opinion. However, in our country, such opinions are punished in a draconian way!

As a writer and the author of 12 published books, I am not afraid for the fate of my books or for my own fate (because I want to share the present and future destiny of my people); therefore I do not fear for the fate of my works since works that are published will be entering history anyway! But since it has been shown that readers of my books could be harmed for whatever reason if during a police search which are frequent in our country books are found written by a writer who "has come into conflict with the party" I fear that they could, God forbid, perhaps even find themselves "under lock and key."

I am aware that you cannot be responsible for the work of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and its actions. In spite of that, I think that it is clear that at this moment Kosovo party and state repression are twins, which means that party "sins" could very easily and almost obligatorily be turned into "antistate" activity. I wonder: What means will the SFRY President have to prevent such a thing?

[Signed] Jusuf Budzovi, writer, Pristina.

DELO Comments on Youth President Resignation

AU2106110089 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 16 Jun 89 p 1

["Topic of the Day" commentary by Janko Lorenci: "Kosovo Embers"]

[Text] The session at which Branko Greganovic ceased to be the Yugoslav youth leader causes mixed feelings. For instance:

Yugoslavia is literally permeated and infected with Kosovo. If you do not broach the question, it is pushed on you, even now, when Kosovo is a part of unified Serbia and has been pacified and by superficial logic should cease to be small change in a big game. Obviously it still has its function.

All the federal forums composed of pieces of this hapless Yugoslavia are barren, incapable of producing any fruitful synthesis. It is obviously best that they do not produce anything.

The youth at the federal level is exactly the same. It would be illusory to think that it could be different only because of its biological youth.

On the contrary, it seems it is above average permeated and frightened by Kosovo as presented in its Serbian edition.

How horrid it is actually to hear—this is the most painful impression of the session—somebody like Redzep Hodza, young Albanian, who says things that many of his compatriots at home certainly do not believe. Eventually he may find himself on some list of dishonor. But for the time being he carries on his job, for himself and for others. The offensive has to be pursued in all places: today in the Youth Federation, yesterday in the SFRY Assembly against Markovic.

And Greganovic? He was a somewhat unusual occurrence on the Yugoslav scene. A young face, new look [preceding two words in English], a new-old vocabulary, and suprisingly popular everywhere. One has to be clever to achieve this. He appeared in an extremely thankless role and he resigned after many difficult moments, just before the end of his term of office and after he began to lose political points in his homebase, Slovenia.

Pristina Construction Workers Protest, Stop Work

LD1906125889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1050 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Excerpt] Pristina, 19 Jun (TANJUG)—More than 1,000 workers at the Pristina building and construction combine stopped work this morning. The stoppage followed a decision of the Provincial Executive Council and the Social Accountancy Service to annul the personal incomes as calculated for the past period, and to pay the workers a minimal personal income, which is currently 370,000 dinars. [passage omitted]

Peasant Farmers Protest Meeting in Novi Sad

LD2006202189 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Text] A protest meeting was held in Novi Sad this afternoon of peasant farmers from Vojvodina and Serbia who gathered to warn of the existing problems in the country's agriculture. Instead of 30,000 peasant farmers as predicted and expected by some, just over 5,000

people attended the meeting. Out of this number, according to our reporter (Tvrtko Milan), only half looked like real peasant farmers.

About 12 peasant farmers, a representative of the Vojvodina SAWP [Socialist Alliance of Working People] Provincial Conference, and the president of the Yugosav Cooperative Federation, Corbe Klima, spoke at the meeting. All those who spoke emphasized their dissatisfaction with the situation in agriculture, which they all thought, must to be changed as soon as possible otherwise the peasant farmers will deliberately reduce their production. Attention was drawn to discrepancies in the buying-up prices for agricultural produce on the one hand and the means of expansion, energy costs and other industrial products on the other. Food is expensive today but the peasant farmers have at least benefitted from these high prices. It was this fact that prompted the speakers at the meeting in Novi Sad to reiterate this well-known truth.

Internal Secretary Gracanin Visits Montenegro

AU2106193789 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jun 89 p 8

[TANJUG report: "Albanian Separatists Have Still Not Calmed Down"]

[Text] Titograd, 16 Jun—The situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo is still very complex. Albanian nationalists and separatists are not concealing their aims and their orientations toward a "Great Albania" and have been planning increasingly crude assaults against the security of the citizens of Kosovo and beyond, Petar Gracanin, federal secretary for internal affairs, said during the talks with Pavle Bulatovic, republican secretary for internal affairs of Montenegro.

During his working visit to Montenegro Petar Gracanin today visited the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs where Secretary Pavle Bulatovic briefed him on the current political and security situation in Montenegro.

The federal secretary particularly pointed out the importance of security and protection during the forthcoming tourist season and the celebrations marking the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo. He said that the security organs and services had undertaken all possible measures so that the celebrations can be held in an atmosphere of full security of all their participants.

The federal secretary for internal affairs was received by Dr Branko Kostic, president of the Montenegrin Presidency and had lengthy talks with him. Opinions on the most topical political and security questions were exchanged during the talks.

In the afternoon, the federal secretary inspected a special unit of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs and acknowledged its success in performing tasks within the framework of the combined militia unit in the Kosovo SAP.

Gracanin also visited a Titograd work organization which produces rockets used to disperse hailstorms in the atmosphere.

Macedonian Assembly Views Work of Secretariat

LD2106223289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1106 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Excerpt] Skopje, 21 Jun (TANJUG)—Neither the Macedonian Assembly nor the republic's Executive Council were informed about worsening relations in the Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Macedonia. The blame lies with the Secretariat's top man who, under the Constitution, was duty-bound to provide information on the real situation. According to a joint statement issued from separate sessions of the Sociopolitical Chamber and the Chamber of Associated labor of the Macedonian Assembly held yesterday behind closed doors, one of the conclusions was that the republican Executive Council had failed to monitor the work of the republic's Secretariat for Internal Affairs adequately, thus preventing the Macedonian Assembly from taking appropriate measures to resolve the unfavorable situation in the Secretariat.

Delegates in the two chambers concluded that the bad situation in the republic's Secretariat for Internal Affairs is the result of mistakes and shortcomings in the work of its top man, his deputy and a section of high-level officials and the lack of vigilance on their part. The delegates consider these officials responsible for failing to react promptly and to take necessary measures to remove mistakes in the Secretariat's work. The delegates in the sociopolitical chamber therefore proposed that at a joint session of all three chambers the Macedonian Assembly should establish the responsibility of the internal affairs secretary, Aleksandar Andonovski, and its deputy Kirilo Kostanov. [passage omitted]

Macedonian Parliament Appoints Interior Minister

LD2206090789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1808 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Skopje, June 21 (TANJUG)—Parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia today elected Jovan Trpenovski, 54, as the republic's new minister of internal affairs.

Trpenovski's predecessor, Aleksandar Andonovski was recently relieved of his post because of the lack of discipline and the responsibility for the use of force by militia in the village of Vevcani at one point in a year-long dispute between two villages and communal authorities.

The local dispute over water rights drew nationwide attention after republican militia intervened during demonstrations staged by villagers.

Macedonia Presents SFRY Presidency Candidates

AU2106133489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17-18 Jun 89 p 11

[Sl. Paskovski report: "Tupurkovski and Stavrev Secure the Advantage"]

[Excerpt] Skopje, 17 Jun—At yesterday's nomination conference of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Macedonia for candidates for the Macedonian member of the SFRY Presidency, Vasil Tupurkovski received 159 votes out of the total of 182 which were cast by the Republican Conference members. The other person who will be on the list of possible candidates for the Macedonian member of the SFRY Presidency is Dragoljub Stavrev who received 109 votes. Metodi Petrovski (85 votes), Dr Tito Belicanec (74 votes), and Svetomir Skaric (73 votes) did not receive the necessary number of votes. Metodi Petrovski, president of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Macedonia will not be on the list because he received 7 votes too few. [passage omitted]

Montenegro Assembly Mandate Ends 1-Year Early

LD2206000189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Titograd, 21 Jun (TANJUG)—By the will of the people the mandate of the delegates in the republic's assembly and those in the municipal assemblies throughout Montenegro has been shortened by 1 year. For the first time in our self-managing practice there will be extraordinary, early elections thus giving the citizens and the working people an opportunity directly to decide who is to represent them in the top legislative bodies, from the level of municipality to that of the republic. Yesterday's session of all three chambers of the Montenegrin Assembly was the last one of the present convocation and, if the behavior of a large section of the delegates over a lengthy period is anything to go by, the electorate will not shed many tears over the fact that yesterday's was a farewell session.

In defense of this statement it suffices to mention the delegates' unprincipled, or even chameleon-like, conduct on several occasions and, in particular, following the events of last October. As is well known, the Montenegro Presidency, with the approval from the Montenegro League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, last October passed an unlawful decision to introduce emergency measures. As a result, for the first time in the post-war period in the country, force was used against our own people. Instead of demanding disciplinary measures and responsibility of the members of the Presidency and joining the citizens and the working people in the demand to replace them, in the now notorius "democratic" farce and vote of confidence the delegates decided to extend the mandate for all the members of the Montenegro Presidency.

They reacted in the similar way following January's events when the complete Presidency had to resign. They accepted a report by one commission whose task it was to assess the constitutionality of the Presidency's decision. This commission came to the conclusion that the use of force was in line with the law. After it was decided later that such a report could not be used as a platform for analyzing the security and political situation in the republic during the stormy events of October and January, a new Assembly commission was set up. This commission established that the Presidency's decision to introduce emergency measures was unlawful and that there existed grounds for taking disciplinary and responsibility measures against those who took the decision. Although quite opposite to the findings of the first commission, the delegates nevertheless adopted this report, too. At the session yesterday the delegates marked the ignominious premature end of their mandate with applause. However, the applause was directed at neither the chairman of the session or at the delegates but at Momir Bulatovic, president of the Montenegro LC Central Committee, who reviewed the Assembly's work and the behavior of individuals very critically.